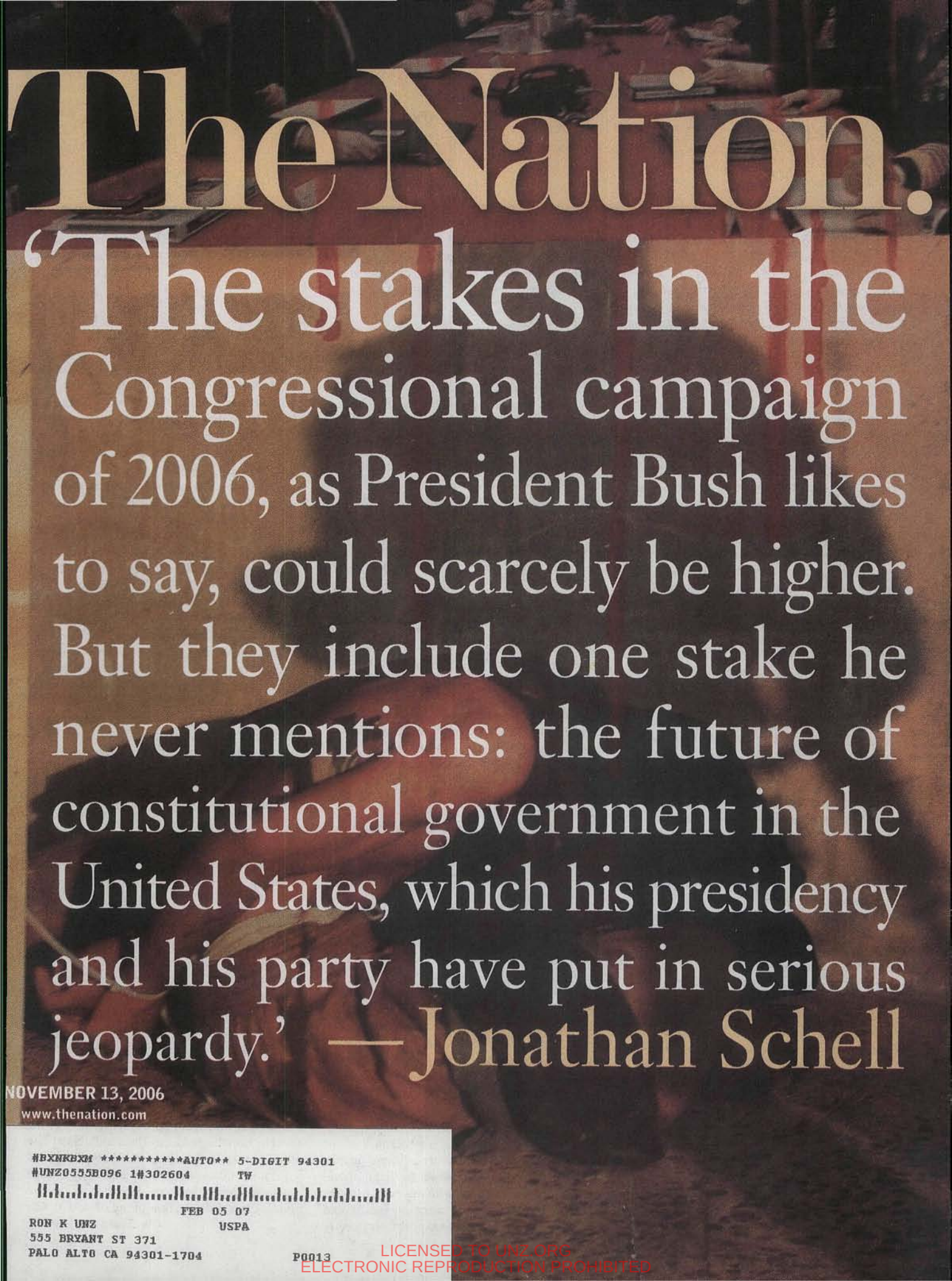
The Nation.
'The stakes in the Congressional campaign of 2006, as President Bush likes to say, could scarcely be higher. But they include one stake he never mentions: the future of constitutional government in the United States, which his presidency and his party have put in serious jeopardy.' —Jonathan Schell

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# LETTERS

*Our August 24/September 4 issue on immigration set off an avalanche of furious mail. We were lashed for using the term "nativist" to describe those who are anti-immigration, for not distinguishing between legal and illegal immigration, for criticizing CNN's Lou Dobbs and for being out of touch generally with mainstream America.*
*—The Editors*

*Denver*

■ Nothing could better illustrate the left's abandonment of the working class than your issue on "The New Nativism." It is a long-established capitalist maneuver to pit groups of workers against one another to hold wages down and increase corporate profits. That is what is happening with the influx of undocumented workers allowed by the government's neglect of immigration law. When I was a carpenter in the late 1970s, I earned $11.62 an hour. Now, if I wanted to, I could do the same work for $9 an hour, more than thirty years later! No, thanks.

By labeling concerns of American workers "nativism," you dismiss those concerns as reactionary or invalid. Characterizing those concerns as racist or xenophobic allows you to ignore the economic impact on the working class while gallantly mounting your high horse in defense of the oppressed minority you prefer to focus on. You are playing into the multinational corporations' agenda. Way to go. LES REED

*Newton, NJ*

■ I'm very liberal, and I know the liberal stand is to support immigrants. I do support *legal* immigrants. However, I can't understand why *The Nation* defends *illegal* immigrants' rights to enter this country, work here and receive the same rights and privileges as law-abiding American citizens and immigrants who have entered this country legally. I would have liked an article devoted to the failed NAFTA and CAFTA policies that have created the conditions that drive people to endure the perils and hardships of illegally entering the United States. Or you could have discussed how the corporate lobbyists have twisted government's arm to keep minimum wages low and propose "guest worker status." Or how almost nothing is done to force companies to be accountable for employing illegal immigrants. CURT TERRY

*Palm Bay, Fla.*

■ As a longtime reader of your wonderful magazine I confess I am dumbfounded by your stance on illegal immigration. Your characterization of people who are anti–illegal immigration as racists is unfair and untrue. Like myself, most are just working stiffs. I'm a plumber, trying to hold on to my job and a way of life I grew up with. Like being able visit an emergency room without having half the people there not only unable to speak English but also not able to pay their bill. DAVID L. BRANEN

*Durham, NC*

■ All who oppose illegal immigration are not right-wing racist extremists. I myself am black. And those of us in the lower depths are definitely negatively affected—not only by the downward pressure on wages but by the fact that a requirement for many jobs now is the ability to speak Spanish! LUCY MCMORRIS

■ The editors are to be commended for publishing "White Heat," Bob Moser's article on nativism in Tennessee. Moser lets people tell their stories. As a result, the felt reality and poignancy of the situations that help shape their views—however distasteful the views themselves—is permitted to emerge. DAVID MCCURDY

*Nashville*

■ Bob Moser refers to me as a "self-described 'white separatist.'" That is wrong. I made clear that I am a European-American separatist, which is very different. I have joined the great new American game of multiculturalism, where educational opportunity, influence, jobs, justice and identity all largely depend on ethnicity. I am very clear and specific about mine. "White" gets it wrong. "European-American" is right.
VIRGINIA DEANE ABERNETHY

*DeWitt, Mich.*

■ Theresa Harmon has it right; it is about legal versus illegal immigration. Do we need more people who are disinclined to obey the law in this country? Farmers and builders get cheap and illegal labor while they facilitate the theft of my Social Security number.

Carol Swain has it right; we don't need any more poor people in this country available for exploitation by the business interests. I doubt illegal immigrants are taking jobs that Americans won't take. They are more likely taking jobs that Americans won't take at the exploitive wages and working conditions that businesses offer. But for the pool of desperate illegal immigrants, these businesses would have to pay a fair wage and maintain reasonable working conditions.

Donna Locke realizes that uncontrolled illegal immigration is pushing this country toward Third World status. Having more people than can be sustained by the economy or the physical and social environment is a hallmark of the Third World. I feel for many of these people; they are desperate. The answer to that desperation is for them, perhaps with our help, to make their own countries viable places to live. Should we allow other countries to export their poverty and environmental problems to our country? Do we not have the right to control our borders?
DAVE SMYTH

*Camden, Ind.*

■ I have lived for sixty-eight years in Indiana, would label myself a liberal, am a *Nation* subscriber and am telling you this: Folks working in New York need to travel across this country and discover the extent to which mainstream Americans are totally fed up with the exodus from Mexico that is moving into their communities and tearing the social fabric of our country. Listen to what progressives like Theresa Harmon are trying to tell you. Stop trying to equate this flood pouring across our southern border with past waves of legal immigrants from Europe, China and elsewhere.

What used to be middle-class jobs in the meatpacking industry now pay about half what they once did, and the same trend is now being seen in many construction trades. We're not just talking about grass cutters and tomato pickers; we're talking about a growing number of what used to be middle-income jobs.

Plus, while workers' wages are being undermined by businesses that openly recruit illegals, the taxpayers are being asked to subsidize a wide array of social services for the families of the illegal aliens who are doing the low-wage jobs. I can see nothing progressive or liberal about policies that benefit corporate greed while worsening the lot of most working Americans and imposing additional tax burdens on everyone. PETE WAGONER

*Franklin, Tenn.*

■ I am an avid *Nation* reader. I am also a staunch supporter of Lou Dobbs, who's raising the issues that are important to Americans—the outsourcing of jobs, securing our borders and ports, preventing ownership of our airlines and ports by foreigners, our awful trade deficit with China and other countries, the horrendous national debt, e-voting machines with no paper trails and, of course, illegal immigration. I consider myself a moderate liberal, and you folks on the East Coast better get a grip and understand the feeling in that vast part of America located between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.
BOB COLEMAN

*Bel Air, Md.*

■ My husband and I consider ourselves liberal Democrats, and we support Lou Dobbs in his effort to stop the demise of the middle class. The illegal immigration in huge numbers, combined with outsourcing, the loss of union jobs, wage stagnation and "free" trade are destroying the middle class. I doubt that many of you at *The*

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# EDITORIALS

## What Is at Stake

No one can really know until after the polls close, but November 7 has taken on the shape and feel of a fateful election. We hope the results add up to repudiation—the beginning of the end of the disastrous, corrupt reign of George W. Bush. If Democrats fail to recapture at least a working share of Congressional power, they and their party will rightly be cast into disrepute, too, and distressed citizens may reasonably begin looking for other options.

But hope is good, a whole lot better than perennial gloom. If the Democrats do succeed in winning a majority in the House of Representatives and possibly even in the Senate, then the country has a chance to begin the fundamental task of restoring democracy and the constitutional order that Bush & Co. did so much to desecrate.

We emphasize the "country" because this challenge is too profound to leave to wobbly politicians in Washington who acquiesced so easily to Bush's extremes and to the powerful interests that rule the status quo. Americans who want a restored democracy and rehabilitated Constitution will have to fight for it, starting now.

If Democrats do win, the first order of business will be to stop cold the long march of right-wing ideological goals. Reversing the great damage to law and government and healing the social injuries will be far more arduous tasks. But if Bush is confined to ceremonial bleats, it will allow the country to change the subject and begin to think anew about restoring and creating.

Democrats could revive what used to be a staple of representative democracy—accountability, the power of Congress to question the chief executive and demand answers for misdeeds and misguided policies. A tall stack of outrages, lies and potentially criminal abuses awaits examination. Manipulation of intelligence. War profiteering. Energy policies that ignore global warming and fatten oil-industry hogs. The destruction of constitutional rights. The cynical neglect of citizens injured in New Orleans and elsewhere. The looting of the Treasury by lobbyist fixers and wholesale tax giveaways. A healthcare system that serves drug manufacturers and insurance companies instead of people. The list goes on and on. Some of the House members who would gain control of key committees with a Democratic victory—John Conyers at Judiciary, Henry Waxman at Government Reform, John Dingell at Energy and Commerce, Barney Frank at Financial Services, George Miller at Education and the Workforce, and others—are superbly equipped for digging out the truth.

Enacting legislation would be much more difficult, given that Bush will still have two more years in office and the power to veto anything Democrats might get through Congress. Even so, the legislative process can be a powerful engine for change, re-educating people on the political possibilities, vetting new ideas and building support for more ambitious goals. In the event they triumph, we urge Democrats to deliver on their promises: a minimum-wage increase, reform of Medicare drug benefits and other meat-and-potatoes issues. Just as important, they could work to design and perfect far larger measures: universal healthcare, financial regulation to clean up corrupt corporations, a rational military budget and other neglected concerns. If party leaders appear reluctant, citizens should press them—hard. Should Democrats choose caution over risk-taking, their resurrection might prove short-lived.

An off-year Congressional election that seemed less than enthralling only a few months ago has morphed into potential opportunity. It might change the flow of politics in ways nobody anticipated. It could suddenly open political space that has been closed for at least a decade. It could re-energize our imaginations and raise our expectations.

This is a big deal. We hope.

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COMMENT


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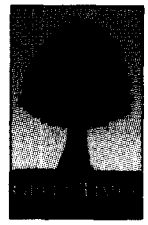
# *Return to Chelyabinsk*



Aside from the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the meltdown at Chernobyl is commonly regarded as the deadliest nuclear catastrophe in history. But in fact that unhappy distinction belongs to another place in the former Soviet Union, a place called Chelyabinsk. Tucked behind the Ural Mountains far from European invaders, the oblast of Chelyabinsk has provided armaments for Russian rulers since the time of the czars. After World War II, it became a center of Soviet nuclear weapons production. Between 1946 and 1967, Chelyabinsk experienced three interlocking disasters whose cumulative damage not only exceeds Chernobyl's but persists to this day. The difference is, the Chelyabinsk disasters did not become global media events. On the contrary: They were kept secret for decades by both the KGB and the CIA, each of which apparently feared an informed public as much as it feared the enemy arsenal.

Now the people and ecosystems of Chelyabinsk may suffer anew, thanks to the desire of George W. Bush and Vladimir Putin to boost their nations' respective nuclear industries. At the G-8 summit this past July, Bush and Putin announced their joint desire to increase nuclear energy use and reactor exports, a move they asserted would increase global energy security. If the plan is implemented, much of the waste those reactors will generate may well end up in Chelyabinsk.

Nuclear waste has been the Achilles' heel of the nuclear-industrial complex from the beginning, and so it is with the Bush-Putin plan. Civilian nuclear reactors produce not only electricity but spent fuel. As North Korea's recent weapons test illustrated, spent fuel from nonmilitary reactors can be "mined" to extract plutonium for weapons use. To guard against that, the Bush-Putin plan requires countries that import reactors to return all spent fuel to the exporting country for reprocessing and use in breeder reactors. But since no civilian reprocessing facilities yet exist in Russia or the United States, in the interim the waste will have to be stored.

That's where Chelyabinsk comes in. The Bush Administration does not want to bring nuclear waste to the United States but seems happy to see it go to Russia, assuming US law can be altered accordingly. In that event, the Mayak nuclear complex in Chelyabinsk is the most probable storage site, says Vladimir Slivyak, an activist with the Russian group Ecodefense who has long tracked, and opposed, government efforts to import nuclear waste.

The Bush-Putin plan can draw cover from the growing number of scientists throughout the world who endorse nuclear power as vital to fighting climate change. None have been as outspoken as James Lovelock, the British biophysicist whose Gaia theory of the Earth as a self-regulating organism has been influential in European environmental circles. In a new book, *The Revenge of Gaia*, Lovelock derides opponents of nuclear power as anticorporate Luddites. In a typical passage, he describes nuclear waste as "dangerous only to those foolish enough to expose themselves to its radiation." Would Lovelock repeat that assertion, I wonder, to the people of Chelyabinsk—people whose totalitarian rulers secretly

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# Send a Message: *Bring the Troops Home.*

# Vote Working Families

## *An Open Letter to New Yorkers from Pete Seeger*

A group of young people and not-so-young people have gotten together to sing one of my songs that I wrote around 1965: they're singing it about the situation in Iraq. "Bring 'em Home!"

What they are saying is we need to send the politicians a message in a language they understand: election day votes. **Here in New York, voting on the Working Families line is the best way to tell the politicians, bring them home.**

We're in a very dangerous situation. The problems in the Middle East are not going away—they're getting worse. Churchill said, anybody who thinks, when they get into a war, that they know what's going to happen, is fooling themselves. With all the power that the American military establishment has, they still cannot predict all the things that are going to happen.

Change comes through small organizations. You divide up the jobs: Some people sing bass, some sing soprano. Some copy the sheet music, others drive and pick up those who ride the subway. You take small steps. They all add up.

**Take a small step today. Here's your part: Tell your family and your friends about what we can do to send a message to the politicians to bring our troops home. And then vote on election day.**

The very worst thing is for people to say: "My vote doesn't count. So why bother to vote at all?" Our votes do count. And if we vote to bring the troops home, they count even more.

Let's bring them home: **www.workingfamiliesparty.org/bringthemhome**

In solidarity,

Pete Seeger
Beacon, New York

## Send a Message. Vote Working Families

| | A | Democrat B | C | D | Working Families Party E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Governor & Lt. Governor | | Eliot Spitzer David Paterson | | | Eliot Spitzer David Paterson ☒ |
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| State Comptroller | | Alan Hevesi | | | Alan Hevesi ☒ |
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COMMENT

exposed them to massive amounts of nuclear waste for decades?

I was, I believe, the first Western reporter to visit Chelyabinsk and report on its nuclear contamination, in 1991, when it was still a closed city. The Mayak nuclear complex, located fifty miles north of the city, suffered the first of its three nuclear disasters in 1949, when officials started pouring nuclear waste directly into the Techa River, which runs through the complex. According to studies by Russian experts and scientists with the US-based Natural Resources Defense Council, 28,000 people received average individual doses fifty-seven times greater than those later received at Chernobyl. Only 7,500 people were evacuated, and people were not forbidden to use the river water until 1953. The second disaster was in 1957, when a waste dump exploded, spewing some seventy-five metric tons of radioactive waste into the air, exposing 272,000 people to doses of radiation equivalent to those at Chernobyl. The third came in 1967, when a cyclone whirled across the drought-exposed shores of a lake being used as a waste dump; 5 million additional curies of radioactivity were dispersed.

Even in 1991 radioactivity levels remained extremely high. One day I visited Muslyumova, a village of unpainted wooden houses and cow pastures that straddles the Techa twenty-two miles downstream from Mayak. At the river's edge, my Geiger counter read 445 micro-roentgens—twenty times the normal background level. A piece of dried cow dung registered 850, a reflection of how radioactivity becomes more concentrated as it ascends the food chain. Still, authorities insisted there was no need to evacuate, and without government help residents could not afford to move.

Today, the situation in Muslyumova remains much the same. Marco Kaltofen, an environmental chemist based in Boston, and Sergey Pashenko, a Russian physicist, visited Muslyumova in October 2005 to conduct new radioactivity tests. "Our tests found that local people are breathing highly radioactive air, drinking radioactive water and burning radioactive wood in their fireplaces," Kaltofen told me. "They know not to drink the surface water, but they have no choice but to use the groundwater, and it's that water and the air that are responsible for most of their exposure."

Thanks to years of pressure from local activists, Russian authorities have finally begun talking about evacuating the residents. But similar promises have been broken before, notes Tom Carpenter of the Government Accountability Project, which sponsored Kaltofen and Pashenko's visit.

The Bush-Putin agenda could still be blocked in either Russia or the US Congress. "The agreement stands before Congress for sixty working days after it is submitted by the President, and if Congress does not pass a bill explicitly rejecting it, it becomes law," explains Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard, who supports the Bush-Putin plan as a necessary response to global warming. Congressional opposition is expected from environmentalists on the left, led by Democrat Ed Markey of Massachusetts, as well as Russia-phobes on the right and centrists leery of shipping more nuclear materials around an unstable world. Meanwhile, Russian public opinion has been sharply critical of importing nuclear waste—polls showed 90 percent of voters wanted a national referendum to decide the issue in 2000, but the government simply rewrote the law anyway—which may explain why Russian officials have recently sent mixed messages about whether they will indeed accept such imports. Igor Konyshev, secretary of Russia's atomic energy agency, was quoted by the trade journal *Nuclear Fuel* in late July saying that Russia would not accept future imports. Allison, however, echoing the views of other analysts, believes that the Putin government remains committed to the plan: "They just aren't going to stir up political opposition unnecessarily before the [parliamentary] election takes place next year."

People in Chelyabinsk have no idea that yet more nuclear waste could be heading their way, says Kaltofen, pulling out a photo of a mother and two young girls he met in Muslyumova. The girls' Snow White backpacks, braided hair and shy smiles made them look pretty much like pre-teens in the United States. "Knowing what nuclear waste has already done in Chelyabinsk, and knowing these kids are still there," Kaltofen asks, "how in good conscience can you send still more waste there?" MARK HERTSGAARD

*Mark Hertsgaard,* The Nation*'s environment correspondent, is a fellow of The Nation Institute.*

CALVIN TRILLIN

## New White House Strategy on Iraq

It seems now we'll get out, but in a way
Designed by White House spinners to convey
That George the Resolute would not endorse
A plan reversing vows to stay the course.
So they'll devise some "benchmarks" for Iraq
To meet. Or, quite reluctantly, they'll back
Some Plan B by a mover or a shaker—
Perhaps the plan devised by Jimmy Baker.
That all takes time. They cannot move much faster
Or they'd admit Iraq is a disaster.
From now on out, it's getting clear, what passes
For policy is coverage of their asses.
And those who die while this is in committee?
What must the White House think: "Oh, them?
Oh, pity."

# *IRV, a Better Way*

While Democrats are hopeful, if not elated, at the growing likelihood that they will gain power in Congress, we cannot forget that the overwhelming majority of seats in the House are uncompetitive or uncontested. This is also true of our state legislatures and local governments.

Primary elections, on all levels, are notoriously uncontested,

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COMMENT

# A Salute to Molly Ivins

*Eight hundred of the faithful gathered in Austin on a Sunday evening in early October to serenade Molly Ivins and pony up for the feisty and indispensable* Texas Observer. *Garrison Keillor presided, and late into the night the indicted and unindicted ascended the podium to recite Mollyisms ("If his IQ were any lower, they'd have to water him twice a day") and recall highlights from her career (including "gang pluck"—her description of a chicken festival she covered for the* New York Times*). Still, by the end of the program no one had topped Molly's own "overrated" list—"young pussy, Mack trucks and the FBI." The essence of Molly Ivins was captured wonderfully by Lewis Lapham, former editor of* Harper's*, who is launching a new venture,* Lapham's Quarterly*, and whose most recent book is* Pretensions to Empire*. His remarks are reprinted below with the collegial consent of our friends at the* Observer. *—The Editors*

Mary Margaret Farabee asked me to introduce some sort of serious note into the evening's festivities, to place Molly Ivins in her proper relation to the founding of the country and the best uses of the First Amendment. Given the weight of the assignment, I'm probably well advised to begin with James Fenimore Cooper, the well-known author of *The Deerslayer* and *The Last of the Mohicans*, who in the 1820s abandoned his political allegiance to the New York monied interests and cast his lot with President Andrew Jackson's Western notions of popular government and free expression. Cooper in the 1830s published *The American Democrat*, arguably his finest book, in which he made the point that among all the country's political virtues, candor is the one most necessary to the health and well-being of our mutual enterprise. We can't know what we're about, or whether we're telling ourselves too many lies, unless we can see and hear one another think out loud.

Which is what I take to be the purpose of the First Amendment as well as its embodiment in the life and times of Molly Ivins. The working of her mind, like her writing on the page, speaks to the principle named not only by Cooper but also by Archibald MacLeish, the poet and once-upon-a-time Librarian of Congress who identified the dissenter as "every human being at those moments in his life when he resigns momentarily from the herd and thinks for himself." Molly has had so many of those moments that by now I think we can accept her resignation from the herd as permanent.

The country was founded by dissenters, and if as a doubter of divine authority Molly inherits the skepticism of Tom Paine, as a satirist she springs full blown, like Minerva, from the head of Mark Twain. Twain thought of humor, especially in its more sharply pointed forms of invective and burlesque, as a weapon with which to attack pride victorious and ignorance enthroned. He placed the ferocity of his wit at the service of his conscience, pitting it against the "peacock shams" of the established order, believing that "only laughter can blow...at a blast" what he regarded as "the colossal humbug" of the world. So also Molly, a journalist who commits the crimes of arson, making of her wit a book of matches with which to burn down the corporate hospitality tents of empty and self-righteous cant. Molly's writing reminds us that dissent is what rescues the democracy from a quiet death behind closed doors, that republican self-government, properly understood, is an uproar and an argument, meant to be loud, raucous, disorderly and fierce.

Never in its history has the country been more in need of voices capable of engaging such an argument. Over the last twenty-odd years it has become embarrassingly obvious that we have produced a corporate news and entertainment industry distinguished by its timidity, by its deference to the wisdoms in office, by its subservience to the price tags of economic privilege; the solo voices of dissent have been smothered by a choir of nervous careerists, psalm singing and well behaved, happy to oblige, eager to please, careful to say nothing disrespectful or uncivil.

In concert with the Bush Administration's increasingly abrupt seizures of arbitrary power, the increasingly polite interpretations of the First Amendment have cleansed the news media of strong language and imperfect hair, inoculated the Washington talk-show circuit against the infection of caustic adjectives and the suspicious movement of subversive nouns. Among the topics currently deemed "risky" by a *Princeton Review* survey on essay questions to be submitted for college application, in no particular order, were drugs, sex, religion and a host of other contentious issues. The handsomely illustrated cover stories in *Time* and *Newsweek* read like advertisements for cosmetics or detergents, the words deserving of the same labels, "risk-averse," "salt-free," "baby-soft." The airbrushed vocabulary shores up the interests of oligarchy with the comforts of cynicism.

As we know from any reading of the morning papers, liberty is never at a loss for ambitious enemies, but the survival of the American democracy depends less on the magnificence of its Air Force or the wonder of its fleets than on the willingness of its citizens to stand on the ground of their own thought. Unless we try to tell one another the truth about what we know and think and see, we might as well amuse ourselves—at least for as long as somebody in uniform allows us to do so—with fairy tales.

Several years ago on its editorial page the *New York Times* issued the complacent announcement that "great publications magnify beyond measure the voice of any single writer." As often happens in the *Times*, the sentence employed the wrong verb. The instruments of the media multiply or amplify a voice, serving much the same purpose as a loudspeaker in a ballpark or a prison. What magnifies a voice is its humor, its wisdom and compassion, opposing the colossal humbug of the world's injustice with the imaginative labor of trying to tell the truth. Not an easy task, but the courage required of the writer, if he or she seriously attempts it—and the response called forth in the reader, if he or she recognizes the attempt as an honest one—increases the common stores of energy and hope. That is what Molly Ivins does, who she is and why we're here to say a not-so-simple thank you.

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with predictable results. According to a report by American University's Center for the Study of the American Electorate, only 15.4 percent of eligible voters went to the polls in primaries this year, a record low for midterm primaries. Disaffection and cynicism toward meaningless political participation are rampant. This has to change—and it can.

On November 7 voters in four local jurisdictions will consider a fundamental change in how we vote. Minneapolis, Davis and Oakland, California, and Pierce County, Washington, could choose to adopt an emerging electoral reform that offers many benefits. Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) is like a traditional runoff election. But instead of distributing two or three ballots on different election dates, voters rank candidates in order of preference on a single ballot. As voter choices are tabulated, candidates are eliminated until a majority winner emerges—all in one election.

With IRV, participation has more meaning. Some voters can rank their heartfelt choice first while still supporting another candidate as a second preference. Phrases like "wasted vote" and "spoiler candidate" are gone from the lexicon of democracy. In San Francisco, where IRV has been used for two City Council elections, negative campaigning has been reduced. Some rival candidates not only endorsed each other, they co-hosted events. (Candidates were vying to be their opponent's supporters' second choice.) IRV also increased turnout and is very popular with voters.

IRV is reliable and has a long history in the United States. It has withstood the scrutiny of the courts. This system has been in use since long before computers were invented and works well when paper ballots need to be hand-counted. More choices for voters means more competition in the marketplace of ideas. And nothing is stronger than an idea whose time has come. Instant Runoff Voting holds great promise for democracy. Who is going to miss primary elections anyway? KRIST NOVOSELIC

*Krist Novoselic, who played bass guitar in the band Nirvana, is on the board of FairVote—The Center for Voting and Democracy.*

### NATION NOTES

The Nation Institute has established the Spira-Lopez Journalism Internship for college students and graduates of Hispanic or Latino origin interested in magazine journalism and publishing. The internship program is administered by the institute, and interns apprentice in magazine journalism, editing and publishing at *The Nation*. The institute is now accepting applicants for the spring 2007 term, which will run from January 9 to May 25. The application deadline is November 17. Go to www.nationinstitute.org/internships/spiralopez to apply.

* * *

**ON THE WEB**: Dave Zirin covers the World Series in his "Southpaw" column. Nicholas von Hoffman considers Bush's "useful idiots"—members of the so-called liberal media who supported the Iraq War (www.thenation.com).

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ERIC ALTERMAN

# The End of *Times*?

Today's journalism crisis is the business model. The Tribune Company fired its own handpicked publisher at the *Los Angeles Times*, Jeffrey Johnson, for refusing to make the editorial cuts it demanded, while the paper's much-admired editor, Dean Baquet, hangs by a thread, hoping for a neck-saving sale. NBC slashed its news-gathering operations and plans to shutter its state-of-the-art MSNBC headquarters, dumping much of its (admittedly awful) programming. New York Times Company profits were 39 percent lower than last year, which was lousy too. The *Boston Globe* is in crisis, and smaller newspapers like the *Akron Beacon Journal*, the *San Jose Mercury News* and the *Dallas Morning News*, as well as powerful magazine franchises, like Time Inc. and *Business Week*, are shedding editorial staff like nickel bags in a drug bust. Yet Google reported a 92 percent profit increase, and Apple posted increases following another quarter of skyrocketing iPod sales. Given these trends, many veteran journalists feel they are witnessing the End of Times.

At a well-attended recent conference in honor of the twentieth anniversary of Harvard's Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, the gloom in the room was painfully palpable. The first presentation, offered by management consultant Scott Anthony, left the gathering gnashing its collective teeth over talk of news "consumers" rather than citizens, implicitly stripping the profession of dignity and purpose. Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian countered with an inspiring lunchtime lecture pointedly directed at the role of journalism as a "calling" rather than just a job; one that he defined as that of the "guardian of democracy" and "intermediary and an interpreter between society and knowledge."

While Gregorian made everyone feel a little better, he could not single-handedly slay the dragon of Wall Street and its unforgiving profit demands. John Carroll, who left the editorship of the *Los Angeles Times* amid earlier demands for editorial cuts, walked the audience through what Wall Street expectations mean for the quality of the journalism an organization can produce. While posting a profit of 10 percent, he allows, a paper like the *Times* could afford to invest in new technologies, circulation outreach and web interactivity, and continue to grow and serve the community even with declining readership of the paper edition. With the 20 percent margin currently demanded by its owner, the Tribune Company, however, the net result—extrapolating from current trends—is the loss of approximately eighty editorial jobs every year until there's nobody left. It doesn't matter that most newspapers, like the network news, remain profitable. Such profits are peanuts compared with the riches promised by Google and Apple and, anyway, are not projected to last.

What is staring everybody in the face is the evaporation of journalism's financial foundation into Internet air, where information is supposed to be "free" and ad rates are a fraction of those in print. Young people don't buy newspapers or watch the evening news—even, or perhaps especially, with cute Katie Couric reading it to them. Blogs are more fun to read and sometimes more reliable. Traditional revenue streams have been diverted by craigslist, eBay, Yahoo! and, of course, Google.

Why does this matter—particularly when the mainstream media failed us so profoundly when we needed them most, as the Bush Administration lied us into a ruinous war in Iraq? Well, where are those of us who wish to remain citizens going to get our information? Almost every "fake" or quasi-news outlet, whether on the blogosphere, Comedy Central or in the opinion columns of this magazine, are to a considerable degree parasitical on the information paid for and gathered by the dinosaurs of great newspapers and newsweeklies. As communications scholar Kathleen Hall Jamieson pointed out on a Shorenstein panel, newspaper readership correlates positively with good political knowledge. Without newspaper narratives, whether presented on paper or on the Net, news comes to us "helter-skelter," as Walter Lippmann explained more than eighty years ago. Now one can believe, with Lippmann, that citizens need reliably imparted knowledge or, with John Dewey, that they require a culture of communication to become a "public"; but the truth is, a functioning democracy of any kind requires a healthy dose of both—if only to allow the elites and the masses to maintain boundaries on each other's most dangerous tendencies. So, too, do functioning local communities.

America's journalism crisis is part and parcel of a larger failure of nerve by almost all our elites. They failed to stand up to the assault on our democracy by the right-wing ideologues in the Bush Administration and elsewhere, on the one hand, and have no answer to the societal, moral and environmental degradations of an out-of-control capitalist machine, on the other. These twin failures have left our democracy weakened and vulnerable to further manipulation. Lord knows, the arrogance of the MSM drives me crazier than anyone, since it's my job to track it. But for all the *tsuris* they cause, nobody has come close to finding a substitute for the crucial role newspapers and the news play in holding our society together.

Merrill Brown, founding editor of MSNBC.com and now a consultant for Net operations, observes that while locally based Internet ventures have grabbed market share around listings and search functions, "what's been missing from hundreds of millions of dollars invested to date in locally based Internet business ventures is a sense of the important civic and journalistic roles that newspapers once played in our cities and towns. There's an enormous and important civic, journalistic and commercial opportunity being created by the accelerating decline of newspapers, and it's time community leaders, businesspeople, journalists and citizens banded together to capitalize on that opportunity."

Gregorian suggests that universities band together to buy newspapers. David Geffen's attempts to buy the *LA Times* suggests the benevolent billionaire model. Both tracks—and more—may be necessary. Whatever happens, the crisis is here. ■

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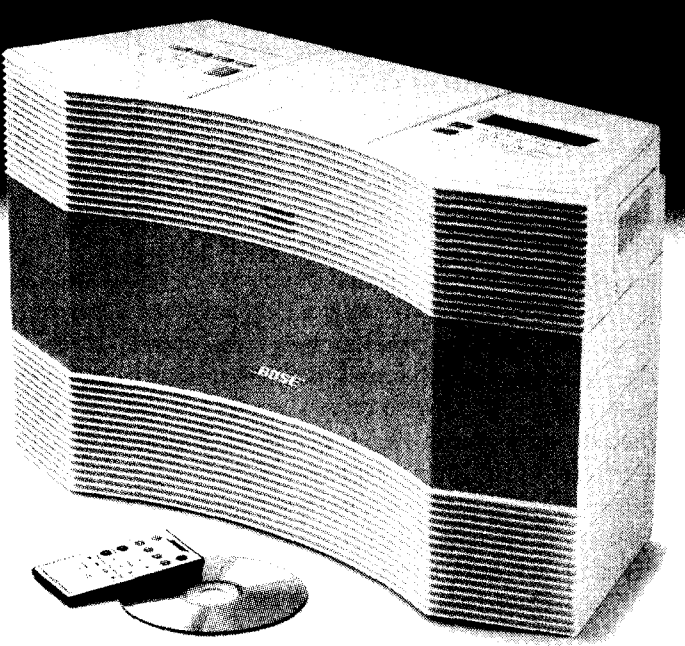

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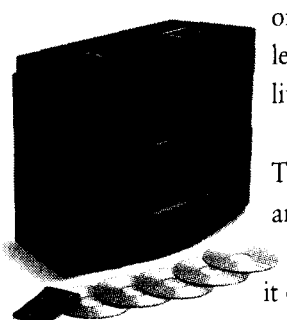

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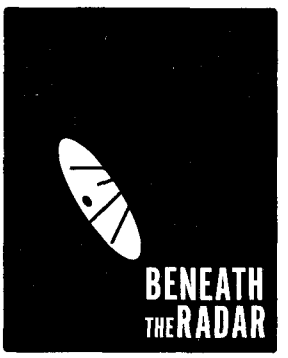
GARY YOUNGE

# Obama: Black Like Me




Less than ten years ago I found myself one Sunday in a white Baptist church in rural South Carolina listening to a sermon titled "Surrounded" and sincerely wishing I was somewhere else. For more than an hour I sat there, gradually realizing that my own considerable discomfort was dwarfed by that of the worshipers around me. The stares I received betrayed not hostility but genuine confusion. In a segregated town that was 60 percent black, my presence in this white space was itself a statement. But about what, no one knew. The eyes fixed upon me desperately sought answers. "What are you doing here? You know the rules. Everybody knows the rules. We don't go to your churches, and you don't come to ours. Why are you doing this to us? What do you want?"

When the sermon was over, I tried to leave as quickly as I could, but a hand caught my shoulder.

"Welcome. I'm so glad you came," said one woman.

"Thank you, I'm glad to be here," I said.

On hearing my voice her face relaxed a little.

"You're not from here, are you?" she said.

"No, I'm from England," I said.

As the words were repeated all around me a small crowd formed. "He's from England," "He's English," I could hear people muttering as a mini-stampede came to shake my hand and greet me. I was English. I was not their problem. I would not be coming back.

As a black Briton I know a thing or two about white America's comfort zone around race. The wariness at the sight of me and the relief at the sound of me can leave doors half-open that might otherwise be firmly shut. American racism has me pegged somewhere between the noble savage and the idiot savant—it adds twenty points to my IQ for my accent but docks fifteen for the bell curve.

Watching the orgy of interest in Illinois Senator Barack Obama these last few weeks reminds me of that Sunday morning in South Carolina. It is rare to have a Democratic black politician simultaneously on the front cover of *Time*, *Harper's* and *Men's Vogue* and the subject of four mostly adulatory op-ed columns in the *New York Times* in five days.

Obama is, of course, a worthy subject. He is the smartest, savviest, handsomest and most charismatic man in the Senate—sadly, the competition is not great. In an era when America's political class lacks character and intelligence, he stands out. What little the nation has seen of him, it has liked. But none of this quite explains the magnitude of the Obamathon currently taking place.

Perhaps what the nation has liked most is not what Obama has said or done but what he is. In short, Obama is a black man who does not scare white people. This is mostly not Obama's fault. He is who he is. He has a life to live, a job to do and a book to promote. He cannot be held responsible for a white paranoia that—outside the music, sports and entertainment industries—demands: If you have to be black, then please don't be too black.

It is impossible to understand his currency or his trajectory without taking this into account. Describing the crowd's reaction to him in Rockford, Illinois, *Time*'s Joe Klein noted: "The African Americans tend to be fairly reserved.... The white people, by contrast, are out of control." White commentators get out of control too. David Brooks wrote, "With his multiethnic family and his globe-spanning childhood, there is a little piece of everything in Obama." Klein has ranked Obama alongside Colin Powell, Tiger Woods, Oprah Winfrey and Michael Jordan as "black people who...seem to have an iconic power over the American imagination because they transcend racial stereotypes."

Quite how a person "transcends" anything to do with race in the United States in 2006 is difficult to fathom. In a country where whites were five times more likely than blacks to believe that racism played no part in the Katrina debacle, you are far more likely to "transcend" gravity. This is not just true for blacks. Remember Hillary Clinton's display of ebonics in Harlem on Martin Luther King Day? Sister girl took it to a whole new level.

But Obama does not have to try so hard. He was raised in Hawaii and Jakarta by his white grandparents and mother and Indonesian stepfather. He brings with him no familial tales of slavery or Southern segregation—his father was Kenyan. He does not have the "messianic style" that Columbia professor Manning Marable notes is characteristic of that generation of African-American leaders raised in the church. He came up through academe. Not only did he not attend the March on Washington, he was only 2 at the time. He is the first prominent black politician of the post–civil rights era. (Condi was born the year of *Brown v. Board of Education*, in Birmingham, Alabama. She knew one of the girls killed in the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. Just two reasons she should know better.)

All of this has made Obama prey to the soft bigotry of unreasonable expectations from both right and left. White people find a black man they can deal with, and they want him to be everything: Martin Luther King, John F. Kennedy, griot, President, Vice President, motherhood and apple pie. (Though it should be noted that whites who say they're keen on black candidates often don't vote for them.)

These expectations have little to do with either Obama's compelling qualities or his flaws. Obamarama was already in vogue when he joined the Senate as a principled antiwar advocate. Those lefties who wanted him to explode on entry were always going to be disappointed. No black man ever walked into a room of ninety-nine white people, laid down the law and lived—not professionally, anyway. But that is no excuse for endorsing Joseph Lieberman and voting to confirm Rice, to name just a couple of disappointments over the past two years.

I still wonder how long that warm greeting in South Carolina would have lasted if I had said I was coming back next week. And I wonder how warm a reception Obama will get if he says he will run next year. ■

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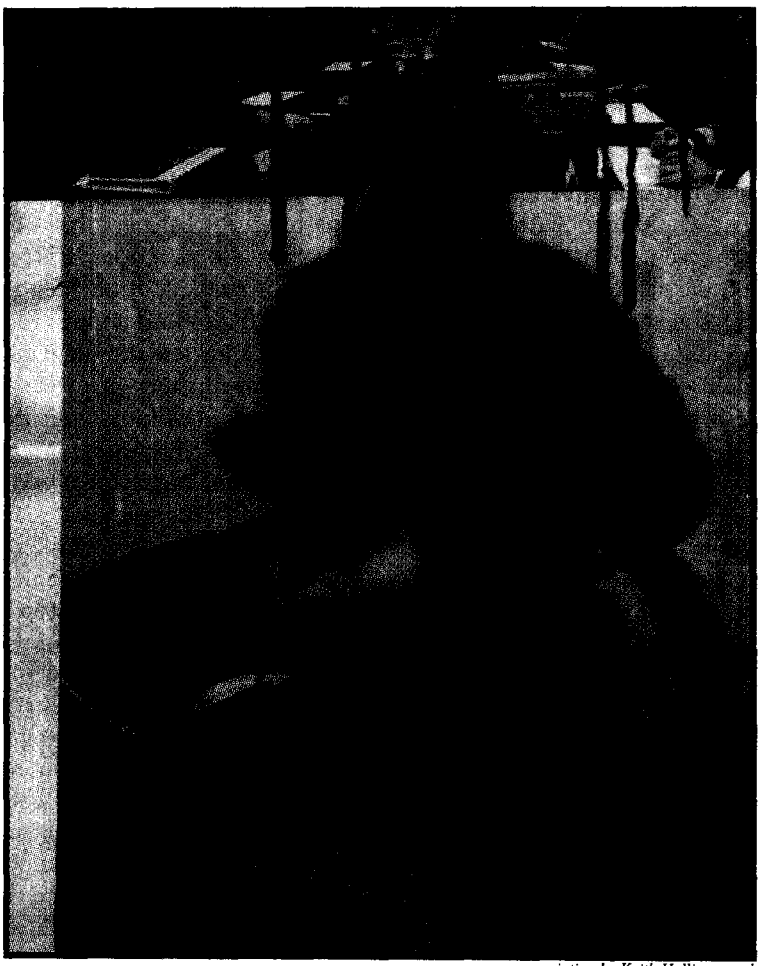
ARTICLES

# The Torture Election

THE CRISIS OF THE REPUBLIC

The Congressional campaign of 2006 slouches toward election day through a grotesque landscape of torture and excuses for torture, scabrous messages from a Congressman to young boys, a Congressional cover-up of the same, murder and countermurder every day in Iraq (a heart-stopping 655,000 Iraqis have died since the invasion, according to a Johns Hopkins study), and nuclear fallout from North Korea (of the political if not the literal kind).



*painting by Keith Hollingsworth*

The stakes, as President Bush likes to say—and on this point he is correct—could scarcely be higher. But they include one stake he never mentions: the future of constitutional government in the United States, which his presidency and his party have put in serious jeopardy. The old (lower case) republican system of checks and balances and popular liberties, you might say, is in danger of replacement by a new (upper case) Republican system of arbitrary one-party rule organized around an all-powerful presidency. That many-sided danger, of course, is the subject of this series of articles. It is simply impossible to know in advance when, in a great constitutional crisis, the decisive turning point—the irrevocable capsizing—might come. We are left wondering whether we are witnessing just one more swing of the familiar old American political "pendulum," bound by its own weight to swing back in the opposite direction, or whether this time the pendulum is about to fly off its hinge and land us with a crash in territory that we have never visited before. There are strong arguments on both sides of the question. Yet there can be little doubt that the election on November 7 will be an event of the first importance in the story. If, by handing one or both houses of Congress to the Democrats—something that current polls say is likely—the public breaks the Republican Party's current monopoly on government power, an important beachhead of resistance will have been gained. But if the public assents to the status quo—confirming and deepening the ratification of Republican one-party rule already conferred in 2002 and 2004 (we cannot count the election of 2000, since Vice President Al Gore won the popular vote that year), it will be hard to see where the path away from the precipice lies.

As the decision has neared, every important institution of the republican system—the Supreme Court, the presidency, the Congress, the press—has been swept into the crisis. Also critical is the President's bid to achieve global military dominance by the United States, presented to the public as a kind of colossal footnote to the war on terror. The interplay, enacted on the electoral stage, between the attempt at dominance abroad and one-party rule at home is probably the most important specific mechanism of the crisis. Its evolution so far has had many surprising twists, turns, sudden spurts forward and reversals; and some recent events, though each perhaps familiar in itself, reveal a striking new pattern. Of special note is a remarkable yearlong, step-by-step process of trial and error in which the Administration, far from concealing its abuses of power, including the torture of prisoners, wound up giving them top billing in its electoral strategy.

## Jonathan Schell

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## A Political Problem

For some time, the Republican Party has been aware that it has a political problem. All year, Bush has gotten unfavorable marks in the opinion polls on every issue but one—dealing with the terrorist threat. (In the most recent polls, even this measure has turned negative.) On everything else—for example, the state of the economy, healthcare, the environment, even "trust"—a majority or plurality of the public has consistently rated the Democrats higher. In such a situation the standard counsel of today's political technicians, whose unalloyed cynicism few scarcely bother even to notice anymore, is to attempt to "elevate" the single issue favorable to one's party at the expense of the other issues, thus "framing the election," or "controlling the agenda," as it is variously put. The aim is not to persuade the public that your party is right on any particular issue but to choose among many issues the one on which the election will turn. The technique is available mainly to the party in charge of the White House, possessor of a PR megaphone that all but drowns out opposition voices, leaving them to sputter in impotence or waste their energies battling on tilted rhetorical battlefields of the Administration's choosing.

As early as January White House chief strategist Karl Rove issued the template for the campaign to come in a speech to the Republican National Committee. "The United States," he said, "faces a ruthless enemy—and we need a Commander in Chief and a Congress who understand the nature of the threat and the gravity of the moment.... Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for many Democrats." (He should have said "fortunately," for he planned to use his accusation—amplified and distorted—to renew the Republicans' lease on power in the fall elections.) As evidence of the President's successes, he cited the Iraq War. He stated, "This past year, we have seen three successful elections in Iraq. The Iraqi Security Forces are increasing in size and capability. Iraq's economy is growing.... In the words of the Commander of the Multinational Corps in Iraq: '2005 has been a historic year in Iraq, and it marks the rebirth of an ancient nation.'" He added, "To retreat before victory has been won would be a reckless act—and this President will not allow it." And the Democrats? "We now hear a loud chorus of Democrats who want us to cut and run in Iraq." It was not the last time we would hear this expression.

The tactic was hardly new. As Rove noted in his speech, it had led to success in 2002 and 2004. But a new problem arose and grew more acute during the year. The public turned, slowly but decisively, against the Iraq War. In January, when Rove spoke, polls showed on average that some 50 percent thought the war was a "mistake." By midsummer the number was up to 54. The words of the Commander of the "Multinational" Corps in Iraq had not been persuasive to the American electorate. Civil war was breaking out in the country, and the "rebirth of an ancient nation" was drowning in blood. (In the most recent round of polls, approval of the war has sunk to 40 percent.) Nevertheless, as the campaign season began, the public's support for Bush's handling of terror generally was still at 55 percent. This was the political gold that had to be refined from the slag heaps of low poll numbers on other issues.

*Jonathan Schell,* The Nation*'s peace and disarmament correspondent, is a senior fellow of The Nation Institute.*

## Fighting the Caliphate

Clearly, a tactical if not a strategic shift in the election plan was needed. The political riddle that now needed an answer was how to exploit the war on terror when its alleged main front, the war in Iraq, was rejected by the public as a mistake.

A first answer to the riddle was found: Define the general, global war on terror so sweepingly that the specific war in Iraq dwindled to just one front on the epic battlefield. Around Labor Day the Administration rolled out its new political line.

The centerpiece of the campaign was a series of speeches by Bush. Billed as stock-taking on the anniversary of the September 11 attacks, they were in fact campaign speeches. The most eye-popping one was given to the Military Officers Association September 5, the day after Labor Day, the traditional beginning of election campaigns. Too strange to be captured in soundbites (although many of these, too, were supplied and recycled in the media), much of the substance of the speech curiously eluded coverage. For one thing, Bush couldn't stop citing Osama bin Laden, devoting four paragraphs to direct quotations from him and another dozen to paraphrases and citations of his words. The result for listeners was a queer impression that one had stumbled into an Al Qaeda videotape statement that somehow was being read out by the President. One almost expected to see Ayman Al Zawahiri sitting cross-legged beside him. (And, in fact, a recently released GOP ad actually does show bin Laden making his threats.)

In effect, Bush took Osama's evaluation of his own powers at face value. In his words, "America and our coalition partners have made our choice. We're taking the words of the enemy seriously." Bin Laden was aiming, Bush said in his own voice, at a "radical empire," a "totalitarian nightmare." Then, quoting bin Laden, he intoned, "'The whole world is an open field for us.'" If the United States didn't stop them, the President said, again speaking in his own, concurring voice, Sunni extremists would "remake the entire Muslim world in their radical image." They would do it in four stages. First, they would "expel the Americans from Iraq"; second, "establish an Islamic authority...and support it until it achieves the level of caliphate"; third, "extend the jihad wave to the secular countries neighboring Iraq"; and, fourth, initiate "the clash with Israel." And that was not all: "This caliphate would be a totalitarian Islamic empire encompassing all current and former Muslim lands, stretching from Europe to North Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia."

But the Shiites were busy, too, in the President's portrait. The leader of Hezbollah, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, made a cameo appearance with an anti-American speech, also amply quoted by Bush. Iran and its nuclear program were brought into the ranks of America's Shiite enemies by this route.

But could Al Qaeda and/or Hezbollah actually accomplish all—or even any—of this? There are a multitude of evils that might befall Iraq if American troops withdraw (and an equal or greater number if they stay), but no reputable Middle East scholar thinks the conquest of the country by Al Qaeda is one of

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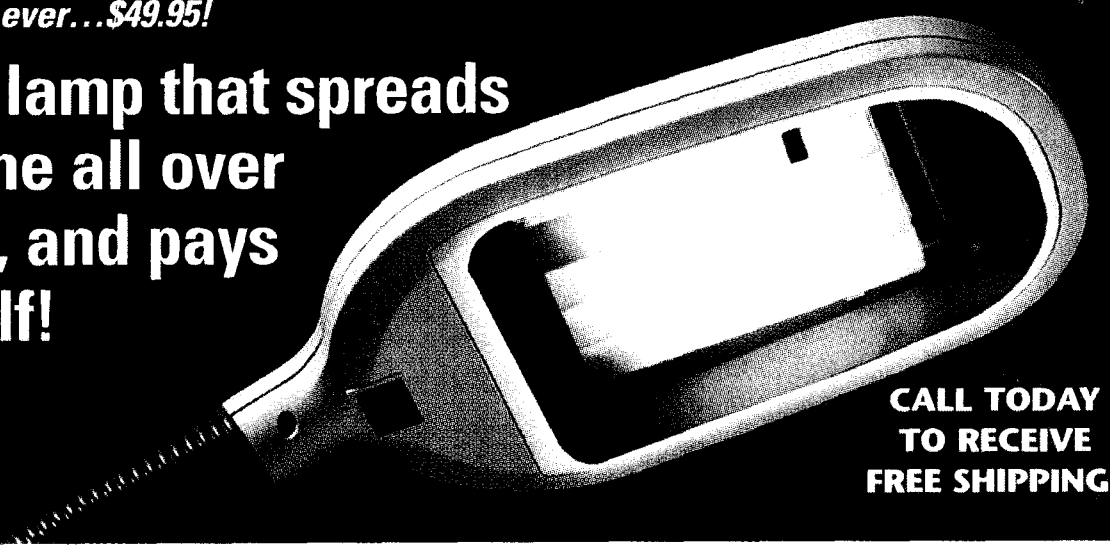

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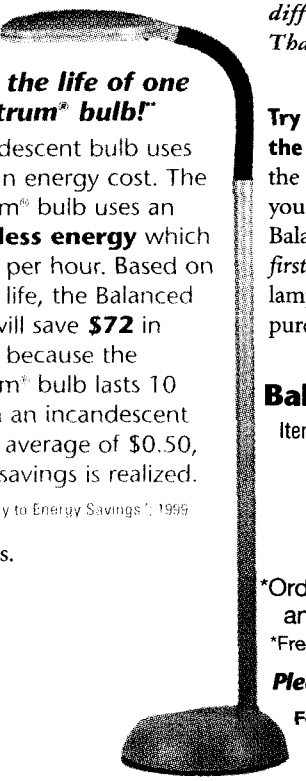

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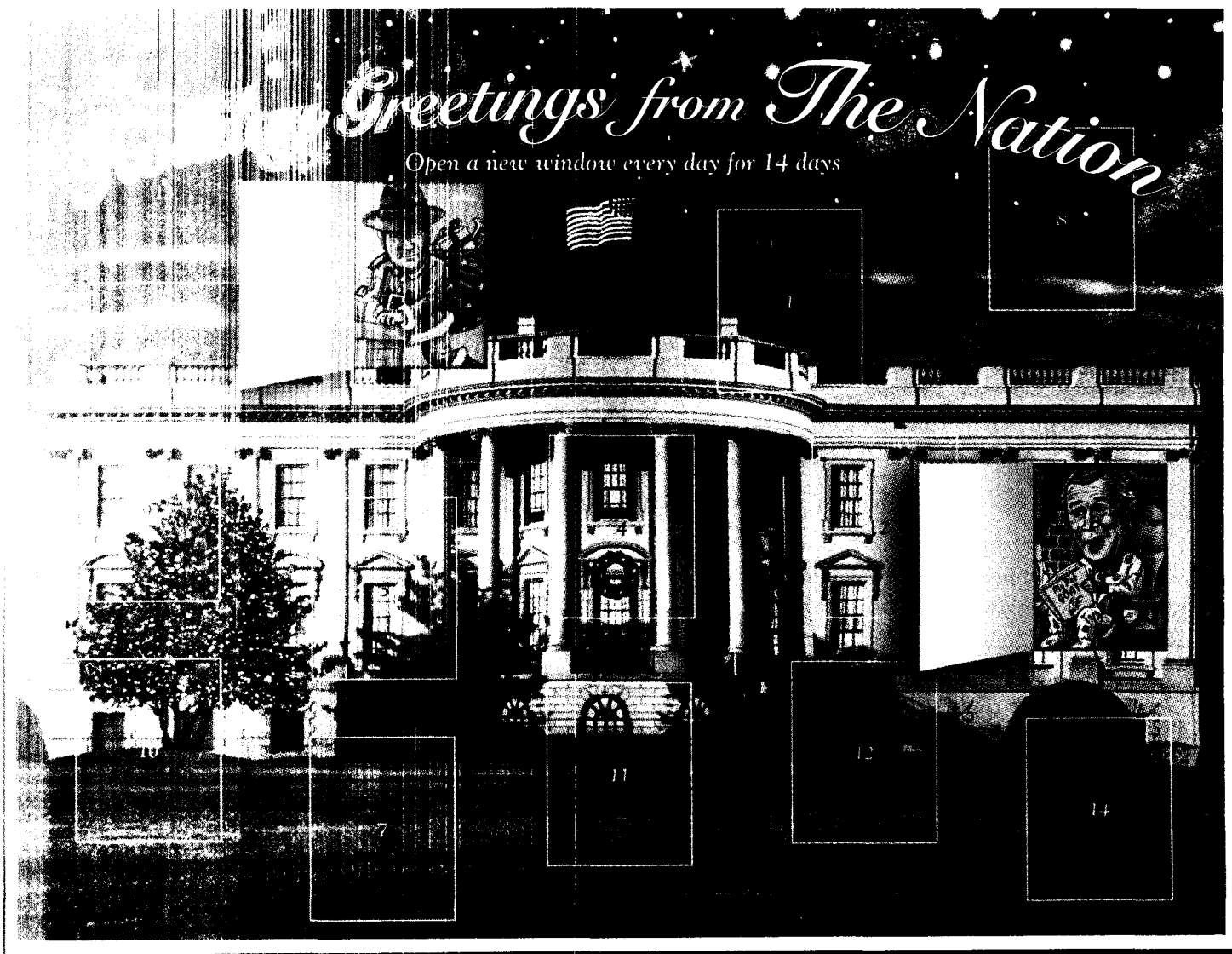


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them. Experts assess the current fighting strength of Al Qaeda at several thousand at most. The serious contenders for power in non-Kurdish Iraq are the Shiite majority and the Sunni minority. As for an Al Qaeda–led totalitarian caliphate stretching from Baghdad to Jakarta, the idea was so outlandish that for days after the speech it went almost undiscussed, pro or con. What is more, the Shiites and the Sunnis, blurred into one menace by the President, are historic rivals and, in Iraq right now, mortal enemies (with the United States weirdly fighting on the Shiite side). Would a globe-spanning Sunni "caliphate" have the bomb? Or would it be the rival, Shiite, Iranian empire? Or maybe both?

Bush supplied no factual material for answering these questions. Instead, he summoned the ghosts of Hitler and Lenin back onto the historical stage. Hadn't the world "ignored Hitler's words" and wound up with "millions in the gas chambers" and a "world aflame"? And hadn't the world overlooked the pronouncements of Lenin in Zurich, and let him "establish an empire" that "killed tens of millions and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear war"? So it would be with Osama, who now implicitly was menacing the world not only with a multinational totalitarian empire, genocide and world war but also with a thermonuclear holocaust.

With these stakes on the table, who would bother to take notice of the deaths of a few thousand American soldiers or even some few hundreds of thousands of Iraqis killed in Iraq? Shortly, indeed, in a phrase that summed up the new strategy, Bush described that war as "just a comma" in history's grand sweep.

Such was the fare that the Bush Administration was offering as the election season began in September. The strategy had a historical pedigree that certainly was much on the minds of both parties. In 1972 Senator George McGovern had run against Richard Nixon on an anti–Vietnam War platform. At that time, too, a constitutional crisis was brewing—the one that turned into Watergate and Nixon's resignation of the presidency. The public agreed with McGovern about the war, yet returned Nixon to office in a landslide. It seemed that even as voters understood that the war at hand was a disaster, they didn't want to apply any lessons from the war to foreign policy as a whole. And so McGovern was successfully labeled "weak" and "soft"—a stain that the Democratic Party has tried to rub off for the past thirty-four years and still has not adequately dealt with. Indeed, calling Democrats weak and soft on this, that or the other thing became the stock in trade of Republicans for this entire period, including, of course, the 2002 and 2004 elections, and arguably was the chief reason for their successes.

## Searching for a Rallying Point

Still, the unpopularity of the war in Iraq had left a gap in the formula that needed to be filled. For electoral purposes, the President's "caliphate" speech (he returned to the bizarre theme a few times in later statements, then dropped it) amounted to a framework without a content, a kind of splendid platter with no food on it. ("Stop the caliphate!" would make a bewildering bumper sticker.) Some specific rallying point for the campaign was needed, some concrete proposal related to the war on terror, but not to Iraq, on which Republicans would vote yea, the Democrats nay and the voters would side with the Republicans. Two candidates were found. One was the disclosure by the *New York Times* of the warrantless wiretapping of calls between Americans and foreigners, a program Bush had ordered in secret. This was in violation of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, passed by Congress in 1978, which set up a system requiring warrants for all such taps. Before the order's disclosure, Bush had flatly lied to the public about its existence. In April 2004 he had said, "Now, by the way, any time you hear the United States government talking about wiretap, it requires—a wiretap requires a court order. Nothing has changed, by the way. When we're talking about chasing down terrorists, we're talking about getting a court order before we do so. It's important for our fellow citizens to understand, when you think Patriot Act, constitutional guarantees are in place when it comes to doing what is necessary to protect our homeland, because we value the Constitution." But when his new program was revealed and he was caught out in his lie, Bush, instead of expressing contrition, went on the offensive, asserting that it was not his act but the *Times*'s decision to reveal it that was "shameful" and announcing that he had not only ordered the warrantless wiretapping program but renewed the order some thirty times. The Administration's political calculation was that any public concern about his lying and secret lawbreaking would be trumped by its fear of terrorism. Karl Rove duly included a defense of the warrantless wiretapping in his election-year blueprint in January.

A pattern had been established. Actions taken in pursuit of the war on terror but in violation of the law would be exploited for political advantage.

The second and more significant candidate concerned the handling of detainees, including their abuse and torture. In the unfolding constitutional struggle, the Supreme Court, though containing a majority of Republican-appointed Justices, had struck out on an independent course in a series of decisions. In the case of *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld*, the Court ruled that the President had no right to designate someone an "enemy combatant" on his own authority but must accept the participation of courts in the matter. It was this decision that produced Sandra Day O'Connor's memorable declaration that "a state of war is not a blank check for the President." In *Rasul v. Bush*, the Court ruled that detainees at Guantánamo must be granted habeas corpus rights. Finally, in *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, the most important and sweeping of the decisions, the Court ruled that military tribunals that Bush had set up on his own, self-granted authority were unconstitutional. In arriving at this decision, the Court set forth a wholesale rejection of Bush's aggrandizement of his own powers. The Bush order had placed the detainees outside any existing framework of law, domestic or international. Now the Court ruled that he had no authority to set up the tribunals independent of Congress—thus restoring a traditional check on executive power. Second, it declared that, contrary to Administration claims, the rules for treatment of detainees contained in the Geneva Conventions applied to detainees in the war on terror. In other words, international law applied. Third, it ruled that "the Executive is bound to comply with the Rule of Law that prevails in this jurisdiction," including the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which forbids torture as well as

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"cruel and unusual punishments." So domestic law applied too. It was by now well-known that in a program ordered by Bush, the CIA had used waterboarding and other tortures and abuses, all of which, though not mentioned specifically by the Court, now had presumably been forbidden by its decision.

When the *Hamdan* decision came down, many liberal hats were thrown in the air. But where liberals saw judicial rout, the White House again saw political opportunity. (Others, including David Brooks of the *New York Times*, agreed that the abuse issue could be used by the Republicans to gain advantage.) Now an extraordinary chapter in American politics began to unfold. According to the Supreme Court, the President had committed grossly unconstitutional acts. If anyone cared to notice, he had almost certainly committed impeachable offenses as well.

Constitutional rulings, not impeachments, are the business of the Supreme Court, but in the wake of its rulings, it was clear that the case that the President, even if judged by the strictest standards, has committed impeachable offenses was greatly strengthened. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against President Richard Nixon for illegal wiretapping and for lying to the public. Ordering torture and other abuses in secret, with self-given authority, would appear to fall even more clearly into the category of impeachable "high crimes and misdemeanors." The legality of a war based on false evidence of danger, though not addressed by the Court, must be considered another prime candidate. But impeachment is a political process par excellence, and the fact is that a will to impeach President Bush, though increasing among the public, is still very weak in Congress, where impeachment must take place. Certainly one of the prime reasons for this is that the less drastic remedy for abuses, an election, is at hand. And one of the peculiarities of the present moment is that abuses for which impeachment of the President is the logical response are now to be faced by the oblique method of an election of members of Congress.

Yet once again, Bush, rather than expressing regret, or even defending himself, went on the attack. In obedience to the strategy of drawing a distinction between Republicans and Democrats on a non-Iraq issue relating to terrorism, he sought to make just these abuses, including the practice of torture, the core of his party's appeal in the Congressional election. If successful, it would be as if when President Nixon had been accused of illegal wiretapping, lying and obstruction of justice, he had, instead of being subjected to articles of impeachment and thrown out of office, beaten the charge by muscling Congress into legislative complicity with his high crimes and then gone on to lead his party to victory in the next Congressional elections. (In actuality, of course, the Democrats won in a landslide in 1974.)

## Torture as Politics

Bush placed the detainee issue, with its de facto defense of torture, at the center of his attack. The White House hastened to send a bill to Congress before its adjournment so that the necessary distinction between the parties' votes could be dramatized in the campaign. In a press conference, the President pinpointed the heart of the issue. Whatever Congress did, it must protect "the program." The program was the CIA program he had ordered in which forms of torture, such as waterboarding, had been practiced. ("Unfortunately," he said, "the recent Supreme Court decision put the future of this program in question. That's another reason I went to Congress. We need this legislation to save it.")

If anyone doubted that Bush was standing up for the practice of torture (though of course without embracing the word "torture"), those doubts should have been put to rest by the following infamous exchange between him and NBC journalist Matt Lauer.

> **Lauer:** But it's been reported that with Khalid Shaikh Mohammed, he was what they call waterboarded.
> **Bush:** Um, I'm not going to talk about techniques that we use on people. One reason why is because we don't want the enemy to adjust. The American people need to know we are using techniques within the law to protect 'em.

The President of the United States, given a chance to repudiate the practice of a form of torture, refused to comment. Apparently, the need to keep suspects confused regarding the degradations that awaited them was more important than the American people's right to know what outrages were being committed in their name.

But were the White House political strategists right? Would de facto advocacy of torture be an election-year winner? A debate followed. A phalanx of retired military leaders came out in favor of continued observance of the Geneva Conventions and against the abuses. So did Colin Powell. Unexpectedly, a trio of gallant-seeming Republican senators—Lindsey Graham, John Warner and John McCain—put up a fight against the White House. That resistance temporarily spoiled the political strategy, for a wedge between Republicans and Democrats had been wanted, not a wedge between two Republican camps. But as all the world knows, the trio folded, and the bills that passed in Congress, with the support of a sizable minority of Democrats in both houses (apparently fearful that Rove's electoral strategy would succeed), gave the White House almost all it wanted. Habeas corpus was denied to detainees; no appeal by prisoners to federal courts would be allowed. (Senator Arlen Specter said the denial of habeas corpus set back the rule of law "900 years," to the time before the signing of the Magna Carta. Then he voted for the bill.) No citation of the Geneva Conventions as a defense against abuses would be permitted. Violations of the law committed by officials, including the President, would be forgiven retroactively.

No sooner had this torture-baited electoral trap been set by the Congressional vote than it was sprung. The Republican Party stood up as one to accuse the Democrats of being soft on terrorists. Speaker of the House Denny Hastert charged that the Democrats were "in favor of *more* rights for terrorists," whom they wanted "coddled." (What the Democrats who voted for the bill were really soft on, really coddling, was the Bush Administration.) Republican House majority leader John Boehner found it "outrageous" that the Democrats "continue to oppose giving President Bush the tools he needs to protect our country." Soon Bush joined the chorus, charging that "five years after

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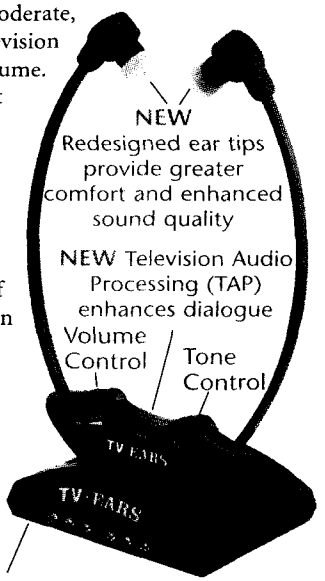


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9/11, Democrats offer nothing but criticism and obstruction and endless second-guessing." Then he once again sounded the familiar refrain that the Democrats were the "party of cut and run."

A campaign fought out on this ground would at least have had the virtue of revolving around the questions that are actually the most important this year. For the torture question really does, in addition to its immense intrinsic importance, roll into one package many or most of the key features of the crisis of the Republic. There is the establishment of a globe-spanning system of secret offshore concentration camps, including those in "the program," serviced by CIA Gulfstream jets ferrying sedated, hogtied abductees from one place to another—say, from Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan to Guantánamo, or, as in one case, from Stockholm to Cairo. There was also the concentration of power in the executive, already mentioned. There was the abdication by Congress of its checking and balancing in obedience to Republican Party fiat, leaving the executive to do what it wanted unhampered or, when Congress was called on to act by the Supreme Court, passing compliant legislation. There was the many-sided assault on the rule of law, domestic and international. There was the assault on basic rights and the separation of powers in the name of the war on terror. There was the brutalization and the flouting of ordinary human decency by the highest officials, exemplified by the torture itself—and, to give just one other example, by the President's comments on the Geneva Conventions' prohibition on "outrages upon personal dignity." "It's very vague," he said in a mocking tone. "What does that mean, 'outrages upon human [*sic*] dignity'?"

In the form of the Congressional detainee bill, the crisis of the Republic thus did in fact move, just it should have, to the center of the election of 2006. But the opposition, still cowed by Rove's strategy, had scarcely dared to raise the issue. The malefactors had done so.

As it happened, however, at just the moment that this crucial debate was about to be joined (or might have been joined if the Democrats had been ready to take a stand), the media kaleidoscope twirled, and an item that Rove never wanted to see anywhere near the "agenda" flooded the media. This of course was the story of Congressman Mark Foley's salacious messages to House pages and the House Republican leadership's history of failure to stop the abuse. And then the kaleidoscope twirled again, and in a replacement of the trivial with the apocalyptic, North Korea's atomic test eclipsed Foley's follies. Everyone started saying that the President's voice had grown inaudible. For the time being, events had jostled the big megaphone from his hands.

By now, what is uppermost in the minds of the voters—as distinct from the news media—or what will be uppermost by election day, is hard to say. But let the record show that as the election season began, the leaders of the Republican Party, in charge of both the presidency and Congress, were trying to turn the election into a referendum on torture, which they favored. And let voters remember that record on November 7, when by pulling the right lever in the voting booth they can throw this party out of office. ■

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The most audacious campaign ad of this topsy-turvy political year is set in the sanctuary of the Mt. Moriah East Baptist Church in Memphis. With a praise song swelling in the background, the camera pans down from sunlit stained-glass windows to a dapper young man striding thoughtfully up the aisle and flashing a Hollywood smile as he says, "I started church the old-fashioned way—I was forced to. And I'm better for it.... Here, I learned the difference between right and wrong." But now, he says solemnly, his opponent is "doing wrong," "telling untruths about...me." He sits in a pew and leans forward prayerfully. With a huge red tapestry with a white cross perfectly positioned over his right shoulder, he dead-eyes the camera and corrects the record. "I voted for the Patriot Act, five trillion in defense,

KAREN CALDICOTT

and against amnesty for illegals. I approved this message because I won't let them make me somebody I'm not. And I'll always fight for you."

While militant God-talk has long been a staple of Republican campaigns, shooting ads inside the "Lord's house" has been considered off-limits. But that wasn't the biggest source of surprise when Tennesseans started seeing the now-famous "church ad" in September. The candidate exploiting his faith was a Democrat—Harold Ford Jr., the 36-year-old Congressman from Memphis. Once considered a quixotic long shot to fill the US Senate seat left vacant by Republican majority leader Bill Frist, Ford has risen from a double-digit deficit in the polls to draw even with former Chattanooga Mayor Bob Corker, a moderately conservative multimillionaire with all the charisma of a tree stump. Ford could deliver the Democrats a majority in the Senate by becoming just the fourth African-American ever elected to

*Bob Moser, a* Nation *contributing writer, is editorial director of The Nation Institute's Investigative Fund.*

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# Bad Day in CA

*Los Angeles*

When the autopsy is conducted on the November elections, Friday, October 13, may be remembered as Black Friday for the moribund campaign of California gubernatorial candidate Phil Angelides. On that day Willie Brown, legendary godfather of state Democratic politics, former assembly Speaker and former San Francisco mayor, was hosting one of his powerhouse Bay Area "Breakfast Club" meetings, where Democrats strut their stuff. Not only was Angelides absent, reportedly because he was busy dialing for dollars, but the prime speaking spot—sandwiched between Barbara Boxer and State Senate president pro tem Don Perata—went to none other than Angelides's rival, GOP Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. In case anyone missed the point, Brown, who had pulled Angelides from obscurity in the early 1990s, loudly proclaimed to the gathering that Schwarzenegger, now commanding a double-digit lead, was going to be re-elected "no matter what."

That same morning, as his former mentor was giving Angelides up for dead, it was reported that the powerful California prison-guard union—a major Democratic Party funding source—was releasing $1.3 million of the $5 million in airtime it had reserved for the final two weeks of the gubernatorial campaign. The union was clearly cutting its losses and heeding warnings that the party's down-ballot candidates, now threatened with being fatally sucked into Angelides's downdraft, needed help—especially financial help. Indeed, in what might emerge as one of the great ironies of this fall's midterms, the swelling Democratic electoral current seems likely to hit high tide on the eastern slopes of the Sierra and then recede, stranding true-blue California as one of the few Republican success stories—and perhaps allowing Schwarzenegger to emerge as one of America's most popular Republicans. Unless there's an unanticipated scandal revealing that he went on a camping trip with Mark Foley—or Klaus Barbie—Schwarzenegger is poised for easy re-election.

Though Angelides locked up the endorsements and machinery of the state Democratic Party early on, his campaign failed to ignite any enthusiasm among Democratic voters, who hold a wide edge in registration. With November 7 mere weeks away, only 61 percent of Democrats express a commitment to him, refusing to "come home," as the strategists say. Angelides has relentlessly pounded Schwarzenegger as little more than a neatly trimmed beard for George W. Bush, but to little avail. "It's true you have to differentiate yourself from the other guy," says Allan Hoffenblum, co-editor of the nonpartisan political tip-sheet *Target Book*. "But you have to have a story that's believable. Voters simply don't believe what he says about Schwarzenegger." One top national labor leader whose union has given millions to California's Democratic campaigns agrees. "I think Phil's been running the wrong campaign at the wrong time against the Schwarzenegger of two years ago but not the Schwarzenegger of today," he says.

Today's Schwarzenegger—prochoice, progay, pro–gun control, pro–stem cell research—is the result of one of the most dramatic political recoveries in memory. Busted a year ago after his ballot initiative package was routed in a special election, he offered a public apology and shifted to a vaguely liberal centrism. His timing was perfect: The Democrats who control the state legislature sensed Angelides's weakness and made a strategic decision not only to cooperate with Schwarzenegger but also to hand him the tools of reconstruction. "None of this could have happened without the help of [Democratic assembly Speaker] Fabian Núñez or Don Perata," said Hoffenblum.

With legislative Democrats working as his partners, and with Angelides's campaign floundering, Schwarzenegger started building a solid record of gubernatorial achievement while studiously keeping a public distance from his fellow Republican in the White House. He appealed to labor by passing a minimum-wage bill and a measure forcing pharmaceutical companies to provide discounts to the poor. His education budget was endorsed by the same teachers' union that months before had spent $58 million to defeat his special election initiatives. Environmentalists applauded his signing of the most advanced anti–global warming package in America. Even though Núñez serves as Angelides's campaign co-chair, he has spent much more camera time with Schwarzenegger, jointly stumping for a $37 billion public works ballot initiative. Schwarzenegger has also forged a working alliance with the charismatic Democratic Mayor of Los Angeles, Antonio Villaraigosa, who neglected to endorse Angelides until Labor Day (and then only halfheartedly).

Some of Schwarzenegger's reform legislation passed with almost no Republican support. But by hewing to a no-new-taxes economic policy and presenting himself as the only choice the GOP has if it actually wants to win, he has also held on to the Republican base. "Even the best magician can't pull a rabbit out of the hat unless there's already a rabbit in there," said Hoffenblum. "In Arnold's hat he had several rabbits: the Democratic legislature and the Republican voters."

All of which has many California Democrats in a cold sweat. A weak turnout for Angelides could wind up ceding a number of other statewide offices to the GOP. Well-known Democrats like Senator Dianne Feinstein, state attorney general candidate Jerry Brown and treasurer candidate Bill Lockyer all seem secure. But the remaining offices are threatened, among these the secretary of state's job, which was held by a Democrat until a scandal opened the way for Schwarzenegger to appoint a Republican last year. Now, Democrat Debra Bowen, who led a State Senate fight to force firms that produce high-tech voting machines to guarantee their equipment is reliable and accurate, is locked in a tight race for the post. Threatened, too, are a number of reform ballot initiatives, including some that tax oil and tobacco, as well as much-needed public works bonds. Democrats may also be haunted by the past decades' gerrymandering, unable to cash in on a possible national GOP collapse because only a few districts are competitive enough to light partisan fires. "I ran Gray Davis's campaign for lieutenant governor in 1994 when our Democratic gubernatorial candidate, Kathleen Brown, collapsed at the top of the ticket, running out of money and going dark on the air the weekend before the election," says political consultant Garry South, who advised Angelides's opponent in the primary. "She eventually lost by a fourteen-point landslide and dragged five of our seven other statewide partisan candidates down with her."

So while national Democrats dream of a reverse of the 1994 landslide, South says that in California, unless there are changes, "we are in great peril of a repeat of 1994." MARC COOPER

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*Marc Cooper, a* Nation *contributing editor, is a visiting professor and associate director at USC Annenberg's Institute for Justice and Journalism.*

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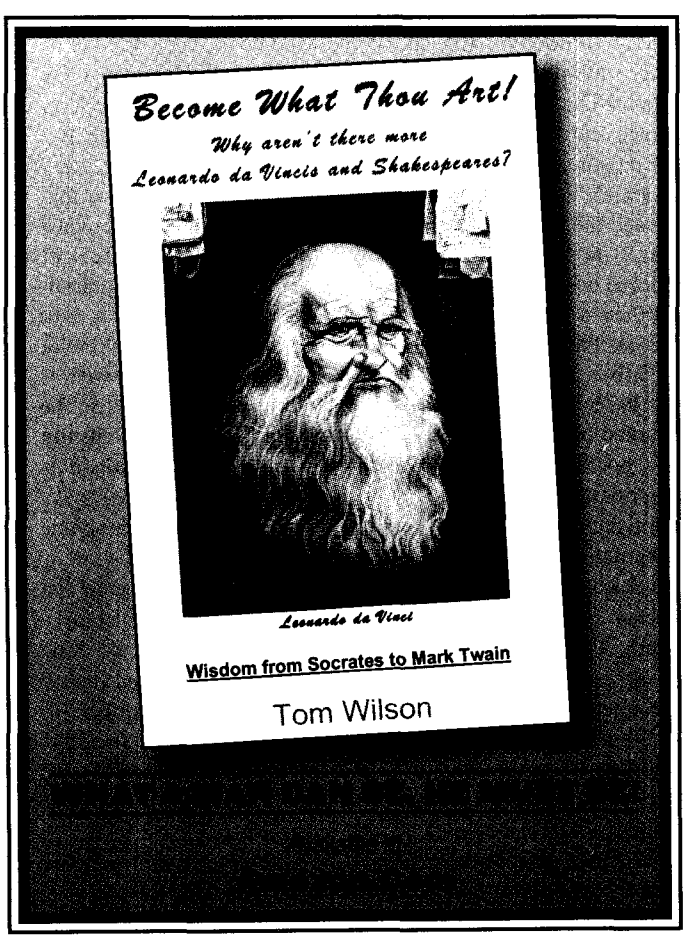
that chamber by popular vote, and the first from the South.

But you won't hear Ford breathe a word about the historic significance of his bid. The great object of his unorthodox and devilishly successful campaign has been to erase every last stereotype that might pop into a white Tennessean's head upon hearing two words: "black Democrat."

Rocketing back and forth across the green hills of Tennessee with unflagging energy, Ford has wooed white conservatives with an exuberant mash-up of high-voltage star power, earthy eloquence and a contrarian right-wingery that never fails to surprise and delight. "I get in trouble with Democrats," he confessed not long ago to the Rotary Club in the town of Cleveland, "because I like President Bush." In a year when most Republican candidates won't touch their Commander in Chief with a ten-foot pole, Ford hugs him tight. "They say I don't look like you," he recently assured a crowd of Caucasians at the Catfish Place in Camden, "but I share your values."

Ford has always been something of a mold-breaker. Inheriting his liberal father's longtime Congressional seat in 1996, when he was just 26, "Junior" came to Washington preaching the New Democrats' gospel of fiscal restraint, corporate-friendliness and social moderation. Ford mostly voted the Democratic line until 2002, when he mounted a prowar challenge to Nancy Pelosi for minority leader, calling her "too liberal." The upstart got spanked, 177 to 29. But for the insatiably ambitious Ford, who says he's been "training for this since I was a kid," that setback was merely his cue to start running for the Senate. He'd pondered a race against Frist in 2000, touring the state and charming Democratic activists before deciding the time wasn't right—or the political climate.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Leonardo da Vinci
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Tom Wilson

Ford watched closely in 2002 as a similarly probusiness moderate, Texan Ron Kirk, ran a strong Senate campaign that was ultimately derailed by Republican John Cornyn's success at branding his black opponent with the "L-word." Ford was not about to let that happen to him. In the past two Congresses, he voted the conservative line on every issue likely to matter to Tennessee voters come 2006. From being a moderate on immigration, he became one of Washington's staunchest border-warriors. He voted to extend Bush's tax cuts and supported constitutional amendments against flag-burning and gay marriage. His old F rating from the National Rifle Association turned into a B.

Republicans have found it maddeningly impossible to twist Ford into a liberal. Now, with the Senate on the line and Ford showing no signs of stumbling, they're trying to paint the sexy, slick-talking Ivy League bachelor as culturally alien to the good white folk of Tennessee. Republicans have assailed Ford, both in ads and on a website called "FancyFord.com," for reportedly attending a Playboy party after last year's Super Bowl. Corker refers darkly to Ford's politically powerful Memphis clan, which has seen more than its share of scandals, as a "machine." GOP campaign fliers in October featured a suspiciously darkened image of Ford; later in the month, a radio ad accusing him of unfairly favoring blacks repeated the word "black" six times in its first twenty-four seconds, warning Tennesseans that he's a member of the "Congressional Black Caucus, an all-black group of congressmen who represent the interests of black people."

"They're edging right up to the line of race-baiting," says Bruce Oppenheimer, a longtime Tennessee political observer and professor at Vanderbilt University. Carol Swain, a black conservative professor at Vanderbilt, says the attacks appear designed, in classic coded fashion, to "trigger some questions about black people's responsibility once in power."

With Republican desperation mounting, the last weeks of the campaign are spawning more of the same. GOP strategists know that black candidates for statewide office in the South have been repeatedly done in by "hidden racial bias," whereby whites tell pollsters they'll support a black candidate but can't quite pull the trigger when they vote. In 1989 Virginia's Doug Wilder held a ten-point lead in the polls at the end of his historic campaign for governor—and won by less than half of 1 percent. The next year Harvey Gantt consistently led North Carolina's Dixie-whistling Senator Jesse Helms—until election day, when he lost by six points. Gantt met a similar fate in 1996, as did Kirk six years later in Texas.

It is anything but clear what kind of senator Ford will make if he can break that old curse. Some Democrats hope he'll edge back toward his original centrism; many expect him to join the small band of Congressional DINOs (Democrats in Name Only) led by Senator Joe Lieberman, whom Ford recently endorsed over Democrat Ned Lamont. But there is no question that Tennessee voters' verdict on November 7 will send a loud and lasting message about the viability of black Democrats in statewide (not to mention national) races. If Ford's ideological acrobatics and boundless charm can't make white voters look past the color of his skin, what will? ■

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# Ground Game '06

In 2002 Republican State Senator Jim Gerlach won election to the US Congress by a slim two percentage points in suburban Philadelphia's 6th District. Two years later his re-election race was so tight that his Democratic opponent, lawyer and party activist Lois Murphy, thought she'd won when she went to sleep on election night. Gerlach, though, hung on by 6,000 votes. Ever since Murphy announced she was running again, the race has been among the most competitive in the country. It's a classic matchup: a moderate Republican versus a moderate Democrat in a moderate district.

This year, however, Gerlach has the added problem of needing to distance himself from a scandal-plagued Republican Congress and an unpopular President Bush, whose approval rating in Pennsylvania is 34 percent. Gerlach is counting on the game plan developed by Karl Rove. Gerlach's chief strategist, Mark Campbell, was an original member of a task force Rove assembled after the 2000 elections to study how Democrats mobilized voters in the seventy-two hours before an election—and how Republicans could surpass them. Soon Rove & Co. were beating Democrats at their own game. "If it's been invented in modern politics, we're using it," says Campbell. Gerlach's race will test a key GOP strategy: Can Rovian turnout tactics protect the endangered Republicans who are needed to retain control of Congress?

An ability to better identify, energize and mobilize voters—combined with the message that Republicans can keep Americans safer—helped Bush's party win the past two elections. But the quagmire in Iraq has offset the GOP's traditional upper hand on national security. And the combination of an energized Democratic base and a sour national mood could neutralize the GOP's superior get-out-the-vote (GOTV) apparatus. A recent Pew Research poll found that 51 percent of Democrats are more excited to vote this year than usual, compared with a third of Republicans—a stark contrast to a four-point GOP advantage in '02. The Foley scandal has only further demoralized an already disaffected GOP base, leaving a wide enthusiasm gap favoring Democrats. Only 57 percent of white evangelicals are inclined to vote Republican this year, down twenty-one points from '04. Even a small decline could cost Republicans Congressional seats.

"The question is not if the GOP field program can be executed—we've seen that dozens of times," says Christopher Nicholas, a GOP political consultant who managed Senator Arlen Specter's '04 re-election campaign. "The question is if the people on the receiving end of the targeting are as motivated as they were in '04." Turnout, experts say, matters only on the margins. Many races, however, including three in the Philadelphia suburbs, may be very close. Mechanics alone—money and mobilization—might save a few races for Republicans. But if a Democratic wave hits, that won't be enough to keep the GOP afloat.

Until 2002 Democrats were better at GOTV. But in the run-up to the '02 midterms, Rove countered the labor unions and Democratic activists by building disciplined local organizations and increasing turnout among specific segments of the Republican base, such as rural and exurban voters. In '04, Republicans used a combination of polling, census and commercial data, through a technology called "microtargeting," to identify pockets of potential voters that Democrats didn't even know existed, such as snowmobilers in Michigan and Russian Jewish émigrés in suburban Cleveland. "Modern campaigning is more like a cruise missile than a B-52 carpet bombing," says Campbell.

Republicans began planning for '06 six days after the '04 election. According to *National Journal*, in this cycle Republicans planned to register 400,000 new voters, recruiting 2,000 GOTV coordinators, thousands of local precinct captains and more than 100,000 volunteers. The RNC also has $26 million to dump into field programs in key races. This mixture of money, manpower and technology helped the party win a tough open seat in California in May and save the nomination for Lincoln Chafee in Rhode Island in September. In the days before November 7 it plans to fly in hundreds of volunteers from Washington to knock on doors and make phone calls in close races across the country.

Even before the 2004 election Democrats realized that Republicans had eclipsed them at GOTV. The Dems founded new groups like America Coming Together in a scramble to catch up, but it wasn't enough. "The Republicans are light-years ahead of us," a study commissioned after the '04 election by Democratic operative Harold Ickes found. "This is not rocket science, and we Democrats will get our clocks cleaned if we don't catch up." Thanks to a concerted effort by Ickes and others, outside groups like America Votes—the coalition of progressive groups founded in '04—are now microtargeting in states like Pennsylvania. In the Philadelphia suburbs alone, America Votes has identified more than forty different categories of potential voters and what makes them tick. For example, they know that cat owners lean progressive and motorcycle riders skew libertarian. "The microtargeting we're doing is on parity, if not better than the GOP," says consultant Ken Strasma, who's employing the technology in twenty-nine states and fifty-seven races, the bulk of them for the House.

The Democratic Party, however, has been hampered by infighting. As the GOP perfected its field programs, DNC chair Howard Dean squabbled with Rahm Emanuel and Chuck Schumer, heads respectively of the House and Senate campaign committees, over how and where the DNC would spend its money [see Berman, "Where's the Plan, Democrats?" July 17]. As a result, Democrats began their GOTV efforts late. Only recently did Dean strike a deal with Emanuel to invest roughly $60,000 in each of three dozen House races, give a $10 million loan to additional Senate and House candidates, and spend $12 million on a DNC field program. As evidence of progress, the DNC points to the 3 million voters it contacted on October 7. Unions and outside groups will keep candidates financially competitive. Still, Democrats won't be as centralized and organized as the GOP or have as much money to spend on TV ads.

Unfortunately for Republicans, all the GOTV in the world can't make the war in Iraq or the scandals go away. Democratic strategists believe that, this year, message can't be separated from mobilization. Talking about issues like the war will drive Democrats and independents to the polls. Republicans might have stronger local organizations, a larger war chest and better technology, but what voters are thinking about if and when they decide to vote will likely matter more. This could be a season in which the big picture trumps small details. ARI BERMAN

*Ari Berman is a Nation Institute Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow.*

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# Driving Planned Parenthood

JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER

Planned Parenthood is the nation's largest provider of sexual and reproductive healthcare, providing birth control, pap smears, sexually transmitted infection (STI) testing and pregnancy tests to 5 million people each year. It has an annual budget of $800 million, 860 clinics, at least one representative in each state and enough members and staff that its reach into the grassroots is unmatched by any other entity fighting for reproductive freedom and women's equality.

KAREN CALDICOTT

Cecile Richards

And yet, there is a gap between Planned Parenthood's reach and its grip: its ability to make politicians bend to its will or even inspire the communities it serves. This was obvious when Senator John Kerry recently announced that he believes that both sides—prolife and prochoice—obfuscate and exaggerate for political gain. It is obvious when state legislators all over the map work openly with prolife groups, defying the opinions of medical experts (the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists doesn't support any of the myriad restrictions on abortion). And it is obvious in South Dakota. The state has two Planned Parenthood clinics—but they have to fly their doctors (and, until recently, their nurses) in from Minneapolis, nearly 200 miles away, because the local community doesn't necessarily embrace the organization. In February South Dakota's legislature passed a law banning all abortions unless the life of the pregnant woman is in danger. There is no health exception and no exception for pregnancy due to rape or incest. On March 6 Governor Mike Rounds signed the ban, sparking a campaign to overturn it with an initiative on the ballot this November, as well as a flurry of fundraising, organizing and e-mails from groups like the ACLU, NARAL Pro-Choice America and, of course, Planned Parenthood.

Just a month earlier, Cecile Richards, a 48-year-old married mother of three teenagers, started her new post as the president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America (PPFA). The selection of Richards was somewhat unusual in that she isn't a healthcare provider, nor did she work for a Planned Parenthood affiliate (as PPFA heads have almost always done). Instead, her pedigree is purely political. What this signals is that many of the decision-makers at the gigantic organization, from members of the board to the heads of influential affiliates, believe that the disconnection between reach and grip means that Planned Parenthood needs to lead a political movement—both at the grassroots (i.e., the people they serve) and in the smaller, crucial world of Beltway politics.

The daughter of the late Democratic icon Ann Richards, Cecile was raised amid high-level campaigns. She organized janitors as one of her first jobs out of Brown, was deputy chief of staff for Nancy Pelosi (and was vital to Pelosi's ascension as the first woman Democratic leader of the House of Representatives) and worked for the Turner Foundation when Jane Fonda (Ted Turner's spouse at the time) decided to tackle Georgia's teen pregnancy epidemic. Ellen Malcolm, founder of EMILY's List, the nation's largest political action committee, is a good friend. Richards founded America Votes, an attempt to bring thirty progressive organizations, like the Sierra Club, Planned Parenthood and the Association of Trial Lawyers of America, together to complement one another's political efforts. "I bring a lot of relationships to this job," Richards told me in August. "Anthony Romero from the ACLU, Andy Stern, president of the Service Employees International Union, Carl Pope of the Sierra Club... these are people I've worked alongside for years."

But she is no mere player, DC or otherwise. People really love Cecile Richards, from former boss Jane Fonda to regular gals who have seen Richards speak, like "Vanessa," a young woman posting on the influential blog Feministing (the header: "Cecile Richards rocks my world!"). For today's increasingly antichoice, burned-out climate, Richards is just what Planned Parenthood's legendary founder, Margaret Sanger, might have ordered: quietly confident, friendly and genuine. She doesn't speak in the prochoice clichés ("complex decision," "we are pro-family") that turn many people off or the organization-speak ("build our infrastructure") that means something to fellow bureaucrats but to no one else.

Even the diverse and notoriously ornery heads of the 118 local Planned Parenthood affiliates, which value their independence from the national organization, come together in praise of their new leader. "When she came in, the world went from gray and dismal to sunny and bright," says Sarah Stoesz, a veteran organizer and the CEO of Planned Parenthood Minnesota/North Dakota/South Dakota. "Cecile has 'it' the way some people just have it," Jatrice Martel Gaiter, the highly respected head of Planned Parenthood Metropolitan Washington, told me. "'It' being charm, class, beauty, brains and being tough as nails. Faye had it, too," Gaiter continued, referring to another charismatic glamazon, Faye Wattleton, who helmed PPFA from 1978 to 1992, and came out of an Ohio affiliate. "In [metropolitan Washington], we have some of the highest rates of teen pregnancy and HIV," says Gaiter, whom Richards visited while on a listening tour to dozens of affiliates to learn more about the communities she would be working with and for. "When she came to our teen event in Anacostia—which is like Harlem or Watts—she legitimately connected with the kids. It was not a drive-by, middle-class, do-good wave. I was so proud to have a colleague who wasn't afraid to come into the African-American community and who is comfortable with poor people."

A Texan, Richards is even from a red state, which gives her

*Jennifer Baumgardner is the producer of the documentary* I Had an Abortion, *distributed by Women Make Movies.*

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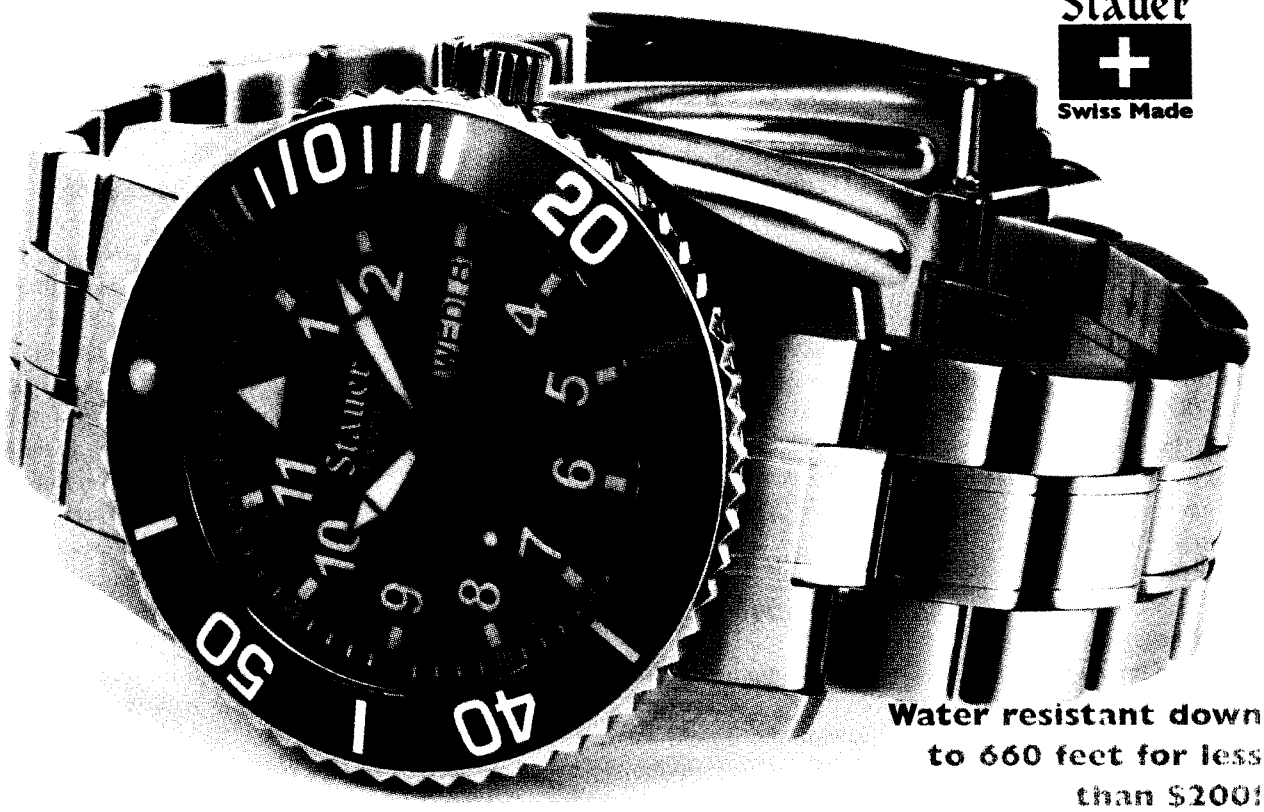

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credibility (no latte-sucking Connecticut WASP, she) and demonstrates that she knows how to build a movement in a less than friendly environment—which, sadly, describes the United States in 2006. The forces eroding reproductive rights, from abortion to contraception, are many: an increasingly organized and growing prolife movement, millions of federal dollars dedicated to abstinence-only education and younger women and men raised with *Roe v. Wade* who increasingly don't identify with prochoice—as a term or a movement.

Cecile Richards wants to beat back all of those forces. During a June address to the progressive group Take Back America, Richards said: "We have the potential to swing the vote in 2006, 2008 and 2010, and that's a lot of power. The question is, What are we going to do with it? And the answer is, We're going to use it. We're going to marry our current reality as the largest reproductive healthcare provider in this country with our opportunity to be the largest kickass advocacy organization in the country.... We're taking on the opponents of choice in the states and the districts where they live. Planned Parenthood is going to become more political so that healthcare can become less politicized." (Cue thunderous applause.)

*Richards knows how to build a movement in a less than friendly environment—which, sadly, describes the United States in 2006.*

This election season Richards is targeting gubernatorial races in Wisconsin and Ohio, where having an ally in that office will mean not having to worry about abortion bans or restrictions being signed into law. To reach young activists, about whom she is glowingly impressed and excited, she is focusing on growing the organization's student groups, called VOX chapters. "In 1999 we had two campus chapters and now we have 180, including on historically black campuses," she says, noting that on her tour "the most incredible thing has been the students I've met in places like Kalamazoo, South-Central [Los Angeles], Sarasota." About the high school students trained by Planned Parenthood as peer educators, she says, "Any question you would ever want to ask, they can answer it without blushing, without apologies or stammering; they have taken on their school boards, their principals and sometimes their own parents. To me, they are the next movement and an unbelievable resource." To reflect the importance of that constituency, Richards is overseeing a revamping of the PPFA website so that people—especially teenagers—can find "confidential, reliable, safe information." She described the platform as being like Fandango, the movie website in which you type your ZIP code and the film you want to see. In this case you would type your ZIP code and the site would help you find the closest place for STI testing, birth control and GYN care.

PPFA's board chair, Esperanza Garcia Walters, told me that with Cecile Richards, Planned Parenthood would grow exponentially as a presence on the political stage. "It's what is necessary for us to protect women's rights, to make the lives of women and families better," Garcia Walters, a nurse and consultant in Hollister, California, told me. "It was a gradual shift—a bit like an inch forward at a time. But we're not taking baby steps anymore. We understand this as our work."

Margaret Sanger might say, "What took you so long?" Sanger, who opened the first birth-control clinic in 1916 and saw it closed down ten days later, used any means necessary to give women a chance to control their bodies and their lives. She cultivated relationships with wealthy donors, married money, lobbied politically, published and broke the law in her quest. Despite Planned Parenthood's radical origins, the organization focused on providing services, keeping politics out of the clinic and out of the leadership, until about a decade ago. "Our excellent health provision gave us the credibility to be an advocate," says Gloria Feldt, an author and activist who led the organization from 1996 to 2005 (and is a veteran of the Arizona affiliate). Feldt says that presidents before her had attempted to establish an action fund (a 501(c)(4) organization that can endorse candidates) but until her tenure "had never been able to move the organization to use these strategies to play hardball." In 1998 the Planned Parenthood Action Fund formed its PAC. "When I became national president, the action fund was in the deficit position," she says. "From there we went to $10 million or $12 million in 2000, which we used for ads and on-the-ground, door-knocking work." During the 2004 presidential election it had only $8 million, but PPFA took a critical turn: It endorsed a candidate for the first time in its eighty-nine-year history. "Given the difference between the two candidates, and a Supreme Court that was one vote away from being able to overturn *Roe*," recalls Feldt, "I thought, If we don't make an endorsement, who are we?" Feldt addressed the 2004 Democratic convention on its first night and toured the country with big names like Gloria Steinem, Moby and Ann Richards campaigning for Senator Kerry and prochoice Democrats in key races.

Come January 2005, George W. Bush was still in office, although Gloria Feldt was not. Is Cecile Richards going to do more political advocacy while Planned Parenthood is under her rule? Gloria Steinem thinks yes: "To me, the very choice meant the board intended to do just that. Planned Parenthood is more trusted and has more credibility than either political party or any political candidate. It also has grassroots. The problem last time was that the big umbrella groups got almost all the money, then turned to local Planned Parenthood Action Funds to do much of the work on the ground. I hope donors realize this time that the Planned Parenthood Action Fund should be, at the very least, the NRA of the centrist-to-progressive 70 percent of the country." Becoming like the National Rifle Association is not a bad goal. *Fortune*, which has ranked the twenty-five most powerful lobbies, called it the most effective lobby in Washington. In the 2000 elections the NRA spent twice what Planned Parenthood did.

Charlton Heston, former president of the NRA, once commanded his squabbling chapters to "get together" to fight gun control "or get out of the way." Planned Parenthood's affiliates proudly do not speak as one voice, despite the fact that the public sees Planned Parenthood as a single unit. For instance, when former president Gloria Feldt caught heat by sanctioning the selling of an "I had an abortion" T-shirt (which I produced and many *Nation* readers helped to fund), the heads of several affili-

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ates supported her while others openly pilloried her. "Our diversity is why we needed a leader who understood all aspects of movement building," says Sarah Stoesz of the Minnesota/North Dakota/South Dakota affiliate. "We are a federation of separate and distinct entities trying to knit ourselves into a movement. Before Cecile, we didn't have a chance. Now we do."

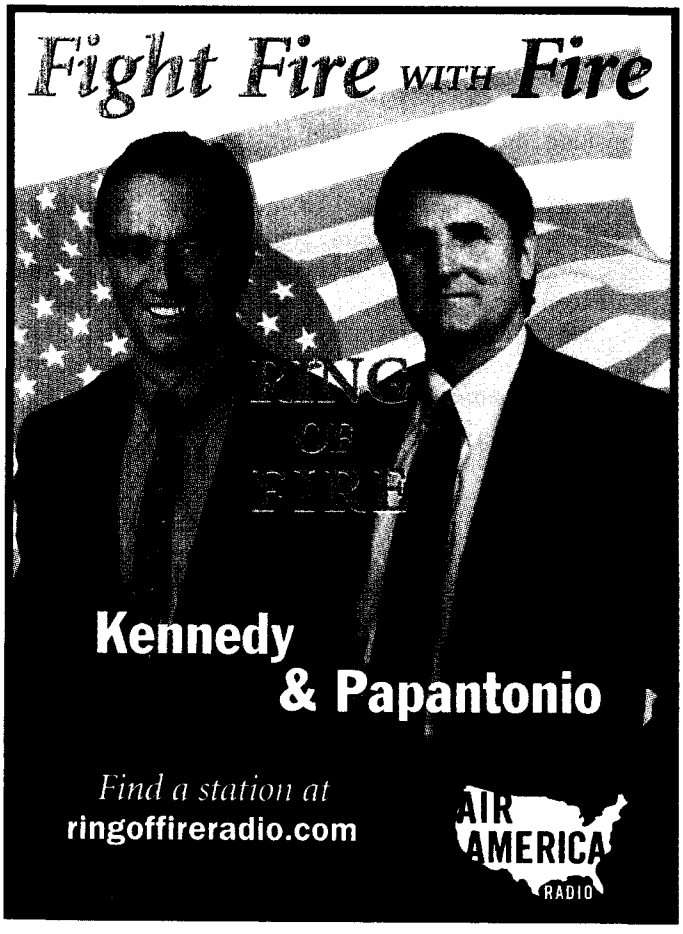
Stoesz has a background in healthcare, but she's clear that she's at her job to build a movement, a priority that is reflected in Planned Parenthood's 2005 move into its fiftieth state—North Dakota. The ND chapter isn't a clinic but an office manned by one organizer, 31-year-old Amy Jacobson. She attends any public event with a connection to the issues PPFA supports, speaks on campuses and organizes rallies. This is deliberate. When the affiliate opened the two South Dakota clinics in the 1990s and began to provide abortions in 1994, Stoesz says it was a case of "leading with our clinics rather than leading politically," meaning that Planned Parenthood was setting up shop in hostile territory—South Dakota is the only state to implement a more extreme version of the antiabortion Hyde Amendment, for instance—before assessing if and where there was support. "We have been playing catch-up in South Dakota ever since," she says.

Planned Parenthood has the reach, and Richards has the political grip, but there is a third element at play, which might be called "touch." How well Planned Parenthood clinics deliver their care has an effect on the community and its politics—and may be the one place that Richards is at a disadvantage. When advocates speak of a prochoice majority, they often include the millions of people who use Planned Parenthood's services, but these clients aren't necessarily activists or even prochoice. This is chalked up to either the women being ignorant and hypocritical or the right wing having gotten its hooks into them. Rarely does Planned Parenthood turn the question back on itself and ask what it could do to make a patient into an activist or at least a supporter.

The eight women I interviewed in South Dakota described abortion experiences that were far from something that would engage them politically on its behalf. Among the stories was a student who was shocked when her state-mandated counseling twenty-four hours before the procedure was a recording played over the phone (not lots of opportunities to ask questions there). The counseling is part of a twenty-four-hour waiting period—a restriction—but if the clinic has to do it, they should do it well. Another woman was very sad about her abortion, although she felt it was the right thing for her and her fiancé to do, and was at loose ends trying to find a counselor she could talk to afterward. Given their sometimes alienating language (such as "tissue" to refer to the fetus), and the fact that partners aren't allowed in the procedure room, many clinics don't meet women's needs, and it is into this breach that antiabortion activists have eagerly stepped. In fact, if you did need to talk after your abortion in South Dakota, the Alpha Center (right down the street) provides that resource. Unfortunately, the Alpha Center is run by Leslee Unruh, one of the architects of the abortion ban. Clinics have limited money and have to make hard choices, but making sure that clients know about Exhale—a nationwide after-abortion talk line—is inexpensive and increasingly necessary. The ban in South Dakota is based on a task force report that, while loaded with prolife activism, is nonetheless basing its case on abortion being bad for women first, and on fetal rights second. The report states, "Abortion hurts women physically, emotionally, and psychologically." In response, prochoicers must clearly demonstrate, with words and deeds, that they are the real advocates for women. "It's been really hard for the prochoice movement as a whole to deal with feelings about abortion, because back in the early days women didn't have forces making them feel guilty," Byllye Avery, the founder of the Black Women's Health Imperative, told me. "But it's been thirty years of people beating on us, and women now do feel guilty. If women need more [emotional resources], then the movement has to provide them."

The ballot initiative (and the coalition known as the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families) grew out of a legitimate citizen response to the abortion ban from activists and nonactivists alike. Taking the issue to the voters is a risky strategy, and not one that Planned Parenthood necessarily preferred. The established prochoice groups have always made a strong case that *Roe* is inalienable, that it isn't a right that can be figured out state by state, and thus *Roe* is correct in striking down all state laws banning abortion. Suing to uphold *Roe*—while expensive and not good for movement-building—has proved successful in overturning these laws in the past. Taking it to the people in South Dakota could fail, and it might be perceived as strengthening the notion that states themselves should have the right to decide whether to allow abortion.

In her constant travels since taking the job, though, Richards hasn't visited South Dakota. "The people who are going to go to vote in November are people who live and work every day in

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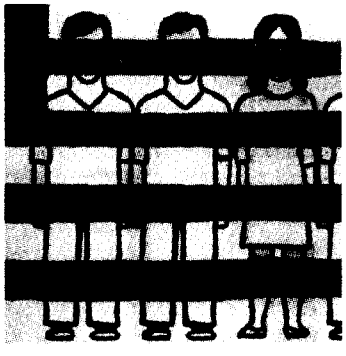
South Dakota," she told me when I asked why. "I really believe that and respect that and support that campaign, but this is not a national campaign." When I visited the Sioux Falls clinic, however, I got the impression that the staff there would have liked some direct contact and support from their new president, to go along with the fundraising pleas using South Dakota as a hook and the news reports that Richards's life was "South Dakota, all the time." When I suggested that a visit might provide insight to Richards about the state's particular issues and provide a shot in the arm to the prochoicers on the ground there, Sarah Stoesz, the Minneapolis-based affiliate leader, snapped, "Cecile's job is not to shore up the six people who work at the clinic."

At last look, the prochoice grassroots of South Dakota, while newly energized, may not be as large or willing to vote as the prolife grassroots. Kate Michelman, the former head of NARAL now fundraising in DC on behalf of the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families, thinks the ballot initiative is "the most unwatched political contest in 2006." "Everyone thinks the big organizations are taking it on," she told me. "They are helping, but they can't do the whole thing. We need ads, organizing and money." A September 20 Zogby poll of 531 likely South Dakota voters found that it's a toss-up: 47 percent of state residents oppose the abortion ban while 44 percent support it, an increase of five percentage points for the antiabortion position since July. Women are more likely than men to agree with the ban, and younger people—the ones Richards has been so impressed by in her travels—are the most likely to support it. ■

AFTER THE MARCHES, GRAPPLING WITH BACKLASH AND NATIONAL SECURITY FEAR.

# Immigrants Regroup

ROBERTO LOVATO



KAREN CALDICOTT

While standing next to a large wreath of white carnations in front of Ground Zero on the fifth anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, Simeón Yañez was reminded that one can be both an advocate for and a threat to freedom. "Our friends are not recognized," said Yañez, speaking of the undocumented workers who perished in the Twin Towers but have not been counted among the dead. "We're the only ones making sure they're not forgotten."

As he gazed up at the gigantic Stars and Stripes on a building next to the "Tribute in Light"—two rays of light piercing the dusk-hour clouds from the ground he and thousands of other immigrants helped to clean immediately following 9/11—his contemplation was interrupted by a woman who walked past and said, "F—ing immigrants." The 48-year-old Yañez, who survived death threats from death-squad operatives claiming to defend freedom in wartime El Salvador, kept his cool.

"She's ignorant and doesn't know what she's doing. I have to deal with this a lot," said the brawny, soft-spoken immigrant-rights activist, who organized hundreds of other Long Islanders to join the historic marches earlier this year. Only minutes later, a bald man wearing a corduroy sport coat with a US flag pinned on the lapel pushed through the small crowd of candle-bearing immigrants, many of whom bore flags of their native countries as well as the flag of their new home. As he got to the front, the man yelled, "You should not be here! You're here illegally! You're a threat to our security!" A calm Yañez countered, "We're here to remember our dead, our injured," as he stepped between the man and agitated Ecuadoreans, Dominicans and other men and women standing in front of the wreath. "They should have come through the front door!" screamed the man before being escorted away by nearby Port Authority Police.

Lowering and then shaking his head in disbelief, Yañez said, "Some of us have lived *terrorismo* here—*and* in our countries. This hatred only gives us more reason to keep organizing."

This dynamic, of immigrant activism and native backlash, mirrors a larger pattern that has emerged in the past year. While the Republicans (and Democrats) have de-emphasized immigration and re-emphasized national security, immigrants themselves have been not so subtly linked to the terrorist threat. There is little doubt that 2006 will be remembered not only for some of the most massive marches in US history but as the year marking the Al Qaeda–ization of immigrants.

In this context, the Bush Administration's immigration policies have become increasingly militarized. Halliburton/KBR was awarded $385 million in government contracts for the construction of migrant detention centers along the US-Mexico border. The Pentagon and the Department of Homeland Security just handed major contracts to Boeing, General Electric and other military-industrial companies for the production of drones, ground-based sensors, virtual fences and other surveillance technology for use in the Arizona desert that were originally designed for war zones like the deserts of Iraq. In May the Administration announced the deployment of 6,000 additional National Guard troops to the US-Mexico border. That same month, and under the radar of most people outside the immigrant community, the US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE, now "the largest arms-bearing branch of the U.S. government, excluding the military," according to a Cato Institute report) along with the FBI carried out hundreds of raids in neighborhoods and workplaces across the country. The ICE's "Operation Return to

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Sender" program captured more than 8,400 immigrants between late May and August in what DHS officials hail as "the largest operation of its kind in U.S. history." It is no coincidence that this same historical moment has witnessed the passage of the Military Commissions Act, which denies the habeas corpus rights of even legal residents who are suspected of providing "material support" to terrorist groups.

The immigrant-rights movement, meanwhile, has been declared all but dead by the mainstream media. In fact, it is regrouping in response to the national security panic gripping the country. The strategy questions raised by this climate dominated recent meetings in Chicago, Juarez (Mexico), Washington and the National Latino Congreso in Los Angeles, where more than 2,000 leaders gathered in early September. Historians like Eric Foner draw parallels between the national security pressures that shaped (and divided) the civil rights movement during the cold war in the 1950s and the situation facing *movimiento* leaders at the front end of the war on terror. "The danger is that criticism of American society will be taken as aiding an outside enemy, and that the range of allowable discussion will be sharply narrowed," says Foner. "Another danger is the splintering of a movement as one group turns on another, to prove its patriotism."

Today, as many black leaders did in the 1960s, a number of *movimiento* leaders attack the politics of national security fear with their ultimate weapons: faith and *familia*.

"With God as my witness, I am not a criminal. I am not a terrorist. I am a mother who doesn't want to be separated from her son," said Mexican immigrant Elvira Arellano from the makeshift room she calls home and shares with her 7-year-old US-citizen son, Saul, on the second floor of her church on Chicago's West Side. Arellano, who made national headlines after taking refuge in Adalberto United Methodist Church instead of reporting to the DHS for deportation, provides moral, spiritual and political inspiration to a *movimiento* trying to redefine itself. "What is most important is that we, the *inmigrantes*, lead the struggle; we have to ask pastors, churches and other citizens to support us as we find a way to stop deportations and struggle for legalization," said Arellano.

The 31-year-old mother says she drew her own inspiration from the Central American immigrants she recently met during visits to California and Boston. They shared with her, she said, their experiences in building the sanctuary movement of the 1980s, when refugees who were denied political asylum after fleeing US-backed governments in Guatemala and El Salvador persuaded US citizens of many denominations to declare their churches sanctuaries. Elected officials in places like Los Angeles and Madison, Wisconsin, made their cities sanctuaries, prohibiting law enforcement cooperation with immigration officials, and many of these sanctuary ordinances are still in force. Arellano has had to face numerous death threats, hate letters and anti-immigrant protesters who believe she is a lawbreaker and should be deported. But this has only strengthened her resolve.

"We're watching the birth of a new sanctuary movement, and many are drawing inspiration from Elvira," says Angela Sanbrano, president of the National Alliance of Latin American and Caribbean Communities (NALACC), a network of more than seventy-five immigrant-led organizations in twelve states. "A lot of the repressive local and national policies against immigrants use a national security and anti-terrorist framework," adds Sanbrano, who herself received death threats from Salvadoran paramilitary operatives and whose offices were infiltrated by FBI agents during the Central America sanctuary movement. "They use these strategies to develop fear, to create a chilling effect."

In such a climate, says Sanbrano, who is also a leader in several national coalitions, including the Latino Congreso and the We Are America Coalition, "priority number one is challenging this fear by helping people understand their rights, by letting them know about this thing called the Constitution that says we can speak out and question immoral laws. Priority two is changing those laws." Sanbrano attends weekly meetings with church and other Los Angeles groups planning to continue the sanctuary tradition started in churches like the late Father Luis Olivares's La Placita church, where immigrants received food, housing and protection from immigration officials. During her travels across the country, Sanbrano says, she has encountered numerous church and community members who are preparing for the possibility that, rather than reform laws and legalize the more than 12 million undocumented immigrants like Arellano, Congress will create laws that further facilitate their exploitation. And some believe even worse things may transpire.

Nativo López, head of Hermandad Mexicana Latinoamericana, a California-based association engaged in advocacy and organizing as well as legal and social services, says he already sees the effects of the more repressive immigration policies. "Since the marches, our offices are getting calls daily from people whose homes have been raided, from the families of workers who've been captured," says Lopez, who is also one of the key members of the recently formed National Alliance for Immigrant Rights, a grouping of more than 400 organizations calling for an end to deportations and roundups and for full legalization of all immigrants.

Lopez has several fears about what may happen if the crackdown intensifies. The DHS is poised to implement new regulations for so-called "no match" letters, which are sent to employers by the Social Security Administration, or the DHS informing them of inconsistencies between government records and the information provided by workers. These letters are commonly used by employers as grounds for dismissal or to deny workers their rights. Lopez and Hermandad have started laying the groundwork for workplace committees to defend against the threats posed by the new regulations.

Echoing concerns about the melding of migration and national security in Mexico and other parts of Latin America, *activistas* in the United States are cognizant of the unique problems posed to the *movimiento* by the rise of a national security state here. And like the millions of Mexicans organizing against what they consider fraudulent elections and increased government repression just a stone's throw across the militarized border, *activistas* here face colossal challenges. But rather than succumb to what they consider repression disguised as the defense of freedom since 9/11, Yañez, Arellano and many other leaders in the *movimiento* respond by opting to use hope, faith and good strategy in their own defense—in the process translating and defining "freedom" into and on their own terms. ■

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## LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

*Nation* are living with the hardships we—a registered nurse and an aircraft mechanic for a major airline that went through bankruptcy—now face. We have lost most of our pension, and college loans have put our family in debt. Our kids get less pay than they should, partly because of corporate greed, which is driving the exploitation of illegal labor. PEGGY THOMAS

*Clifton, NJ*

■ I'm a proud Democrat, socially liberal, fiscally conservative. I hate George W. Bush and most of the Republican Party. I supported the civil rights movement and equality for women and gays. I am disappointed by the Democratic Party's lack of backbone. I will vote for Democrats in the midterm elections and for a Democratic President. However, I completely agree with Lou Dobbs regarding the illegal immigrant issue. I wouldn't care if every illegal immigrant was sent back to their own country. The America I grew up in had its faults, but was unique and wonderful. Now we are being Latinized until one day we will be called the Hispanic States of America. It makes me want to vomit. BEVERLY WARDELL

*Moab, Utah*

■ I'm a longtime *Nation* reader who gets a kick out of Lou Dobbs. There is no one else on cable news who regularly savages Bush, scorns the Iraq War, skewers big corporations, rails against incumbents, cheers for the little guys and pokes holes in the conventional wisdom of both liberals and conservatives on national security and immigration. To be sure, Dobbs tries to disguise agitation as news, conducts absurd polls, has some unsavory bedfellows and is decidedly not a PC liberal. But neither is he a craven demagogue, despite his over-the-top "Broken Borders" shtick. The time is past for liberals to reflexively charge immigration reformers with racism. What makes Lou really mad is when the American government doesn't work for American citizens. Maybe that's nativism, but do you even know anyone who has lost not a menial but a middle-class job to outsourcing or the, yes, "importing of poverty"?

JON KOVASH

*Oakland, Calif.*

■ I greatly appreciated your piece on CNN xenophobe-in-residence Lou Dobbs. I've long found Dobbs to be boorish and irritating; but with his increasing malignance toward not only immigrants but indeed an entire world he seems to regard as hostile to "American interests," I simply cannot bear to listen to a word he has to say. You have done admirable work pointing out the poor quality of research and reporting in what Dobbs attempts to pass off as respectable journalism. The fact that this tawdry little hate-peddler remains on the air renders ridiculous any claim by CNN to be "the most trusted name in news." MARK C. EADES

*Sherrill, NY*

■ Wow, was I surprised to pull my *Nation* out of the mailbox and discover that I, grandchild of four teenagers who fled anti-Semitic Russia a hundred years ago, am a "new nativist." *The Nation* speaks for me on virtually every issue, but while I have a higher opinion of most immigrants I meet than of many native-borns, I have difficulty with the word "illegal." SANDY MILEY

*Gainesville, Fla.*

■ Recently the City Council of Avon Park, Florida, narrowly defeated an ordinance that would have fined landlords who rent to undocumented people and punished businesses who employ them. Other states and cities are considering similar punitive initiatives.

For seventeen years I have been an advocate for migrant farmworkers and have responded to their calls for aid from Harvest of Hope (www.harvestofhope.net), my nonprofit foundation. Mostly our immigrant workers are humble, hardworking and family oriented. Yes, many are not here legally, but since 1996 there have been almost no legal mechanisms to change one's status—especially if you are poor and from Mexico or Central America. Agriculture, housing construction, hotels, housekeeping, landscaping, meat processing and restaurants are heavily dependent on immigrant labor.

We are all beginning to feel the impact of the crackdown. Florida may not be able to harvest all its citrus due to a lack of workers. Georgia has an outrageous new policy denying medical providers reimbursement for undocumented patients with chronic illnesses such as cancer or kidney failure. I know of a 10-year-old boy who has leukemia, but no Georgia health facility will provide follow-up treatment. Nonprofits like ours, private organizations and churches are being stretched beyond our limits trying to close the gaps in service.

Contrary to popular belief, migrant and immigrant workers contribute a lot of money to our economy. Many pay taxes. Companies turn a blind eye to false Social Security cards and put a percentage of wages into our pension system, but those undocumented workers will never see any of the billions they have contributed. Furthermore, these workers' hard-earned dollars are often spent at local businesses.

Doesn't it make sense to have an immigration policy that allows undocumented people who are working and staying out of trouble the opportunity to come out of the shadows and become citizens? We can't have it both ways—depending on their labor while doing everything we can to make their lives miserable and then trying to deport them.

When I get a call at night from a Texas migrant family whose car has broken down while traveling to Michigan to work the fields, I don't ask them their legal status. To deny them assistance because they might be undocumented would be inhumane. To me, no human being is illegal. PHILIP KELLERMAN

*Pie Town, NM*

■ I don't know if people coming across our southern border have a different attitude from those who came twenty-five years ago. As a longtime resident of the rural Southwest, I have heard enough firsthand incidents to believe it plausible. They surely have reason for a different attitude. People coming from Mexico seeking work a generation ago looked to bring back money for a pump to irrigate the cornfield back home, or corrugated metal for the roof of the shop and some Christmas presents.

Now, thanks to corporate penetration of Mexico's economy, that farm or shop likely as not no longer exists. Mexican subsistence villagers were forced out to provide labor in the maquiladoras, placed on the Mexican side of the border as much to evade enforcement of basic health and environmental standards as for the cheap labor. Then those workers were squeezed out again when it became cheaper to move the factories someplace else. I believe people crossing our southern border in search of work are more culturally and economically displaced than a generation ago.

At the same time, thanks to the politics on this side of the border, yes, there is employment for Americans too. Former copper workers now work the 2 AM shift at Wal-Mart, for a third the pay and no benefits. And construction and various service workers have lots more to do serving the proliferating yuppie market that has replaced a more self-reliant economy. Wages have doubled too. But housing costs have gone up tenfold.

Yes, racists and opportunistic demagogues do exploit the friction. But if ivory tower leftists can see *nothing but* racism and nativist reaction to social and economic stresses, their lofty righteousness only plays right into the hands of the divide-and-conquer priorities of that same politics of infinite greed.

Your October 2 issue quotes Ohio Democratic Senate candidate Sherrod Brown saying that NAFTA and CAFTA "are as bad for workers in Guatemala as they are for workers in Ohio." Just the point. I hope *The Nation* will take another look at the immigration issue.

UNCLE RIVER
(STEPHEN KAUFMAN)

## CORRECTION & CLARIFICATION

■ In Katha Pollitt's "Subject to Debate" last week, the second and third sentences of the final paragraph should have read: "He forgets that people with money and status will do just about anything to keep them. (In fact, except in a few pockets of guilty liberalism, like English departments, they'll go pretty far to keep their white-skin and masculine privileges too.)"

A sentence in Herman Schwartz's "Legal Legacy" [Oct. 30] should have read, "nearly one-third of all Supreme Court nominations [not nominees] were rejected, withdrawn or otherwise not confirmed."

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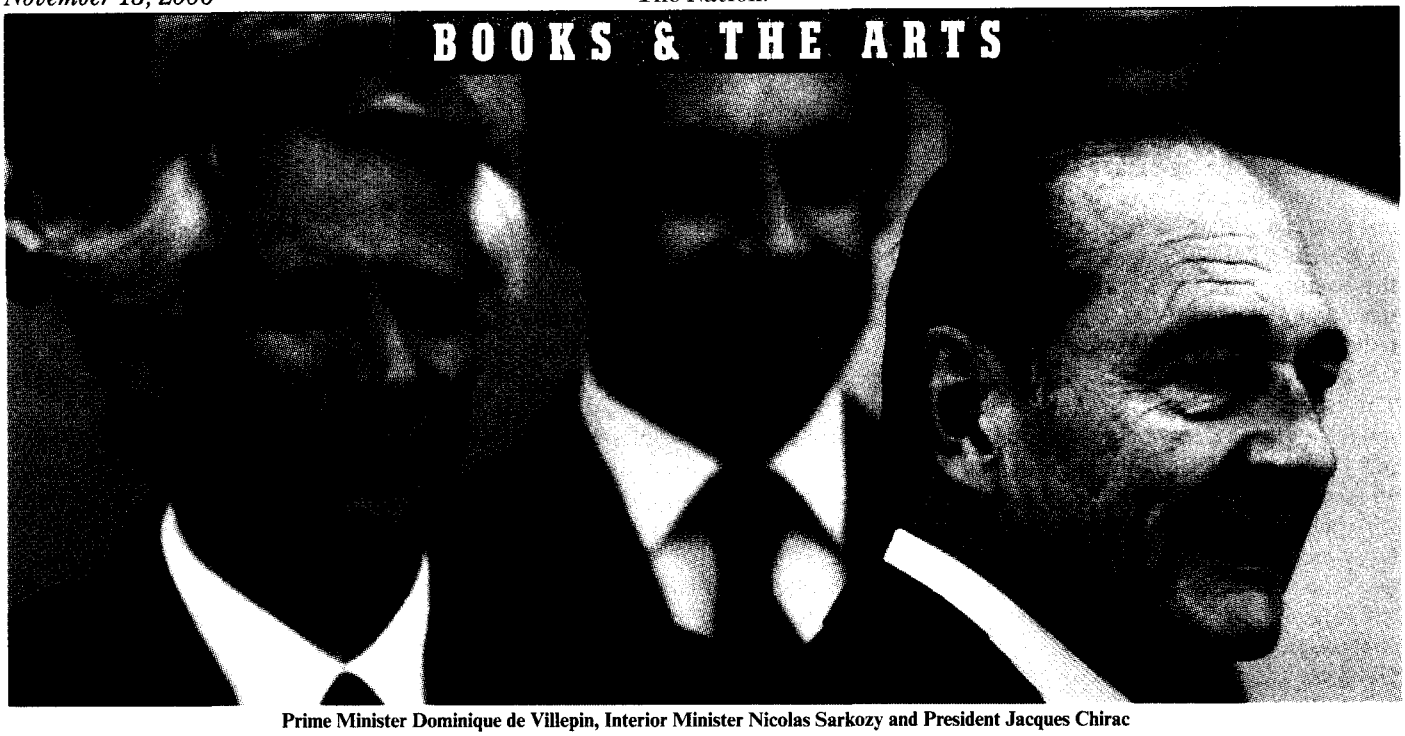
BOOKS & THE ARTS



REUTERS/NEWSCOM

Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy and President Jacques Chirac

# French Lessons

SUNIL KHILNANI

**FRANCE AND THE FRENCH: A Modern History.**
By Rod Kedward.
Overlook. 740 pp. $35.

"I feel instinctively that Providence has created France for complete successes or exemplary misfortunes," General de Gaulle declared at the start of his memoirs; indeed, today, of all Europe's major countries, none seems to have succumbed so fully to what Rod Kedward, in his excellent new history of twentieth-century France, calls de Gaulle's streak of "fatalistic melancholy." Confident slogans ("liberté, égalité, fraternité"; a little more vaguely, "l'imagination au pouvoir") have been replaced by a surly Just Say Non–ism, whether to Europe, the United States or any changes in the *acquis social*—the register of social benefits created by the French welfare state. To outsiders, the French have come to look like a nation of *ressentimenteurs*, defiantly unwilling to adapt to the demands of a fast-moving world. And the French themselves are gripped by a sense that they are no longer making history; instead they commemorate and Disneyfy their own past, living off historical capital. Corrupt elites circulate in power, unemployment is chronic, violence a popular tool of political strategy, and dark rumination about the nature of France and Frenchness an unavoidable pastime. Internationally, French policy lurches between rhetorical flash and torpid inwardness. It's a country where elected leaders—notably the man who may become France's next president, Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy—unabashedly refer to the (largely black and Arab) residents of housing projects as *racaille* (scum), and second- and third-generation Muslims, many of them of Algerian origin, retreat from involvement in public life, where, as they see it, "liberté, égalité, fraternité" is nothing but hollow words chiseled on the walls of the local *mairie*, or town hall. As the French have been more prone than others to exalt their ideas, ideologies and intellectuals—all seen as expressions of Frenchness itself—so too are they ready to despair when reality diverges from what their intellectuals wish for and ideologies promise, and to see such divergence as a critical injury to the very idea of Frenchness. And where Frenchness goes, there goes European civilization. As Jean Baudrillard recently put it with typical

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restraint, "The French can reassure themselves that it is not just theirs but the whole Western model which is disintegrating."

If trust in France's political leaders has plummeted, their legitimacy too is eroding: When the number of those who do not vote is combined with those who vote for extremist parties, around 50 percent of the electorate are turning their backs on their political elites. Matters are unlikely to be resolved or clarified in the run-up to the presidential elections in May 2007. The frontrunners have groomed themselves for the age of media democracy, but there is something too mirage-like about them. On the right, Sarkozy bubbles with helter-skelter ideas and initiatives—he spreads about him an air of decisiveness and action, and his hope is that all will hear something to attract them in his contradictory appeals: patriotism for the Gaullists, an embrace of the United States for the liberals, "positive discrimination" (French for affirmative action) for children of immigrants, promises of security to the National Front voters. But he is trapped by a paradox that bedevils the French right: He wants to make France's economy and society more liberal and free of the state, yet he remains a good Gaullist in his belief that only an activist state can bring about liberal ends. The Socialists, meanwhile, after the fiasco of the referendum on the European constitutional treaty in May 2005 (when the party, which had been a prime mover in the European project, split in confusion over the issue of further integration), are without a single new or distinctive political idea—a vacuum into which has entered the Socialist Party's leading candidate for the presidency, the glamorous Ségolène Royal, with her neither-nor, always smiling message: "Desires for the future."

Where do the roots of the present malaise lie? And are things so helplessly dire after all? In a striking two-part essay published in 2004 in *The London Review of Books*, Perry Anderson sought to explain this hard fall from what he saw as the "apogee of France's postwar revival," May and June of 1968. It was de Gaulle, in Anderson's account, who helped to raise France to this peak: shrewdly taking France out of a colonial war, establishing stable institutions, putting in currency a vocabulary of national grandeur, investing in high technology while protecting French agriculture and striking out from under the umbrella of American power—a choice that made France the only truly independent power in Europe. Then he had the grace to depart in the wake of May 1968, leaving the stage open for further advance.

But what followed 1968, and de Gaulle's exit, Anderson argues, was a sweeping "Cold War liberalism" that has sidelined France ever since. The country's elites, confronted with the possibility that the parties of the left—Socialists and Communists, animated by the radical energies released in 1968 and united by the Common Programme of 1972—might enter government, launched an intellectual coup. To Anderson the late 1970s marked the moment when postwar France's intellectual and political history was hijacked. Intellectuals like the late François Furet, a revisionist historian of the French Revolution, and Pierre Nora, editor of the journal *Le Débat*, set out to efface 1789 as a living legacy in the French political imagination, and to put in its place a language of rights, individualism and the market. This coordinated campaign achieved a victory so sweeping that it was, Anderson went so far as to imply, a kind of intellectual Vichy, a "democratic version of the outlook of 1940 and after": an ideological occupation of French cultural and political space that drove France to modernize by imitating not the German model, as in 1940, but the American one. Thus were the French politically and intellectually disarmed: deprived of the language of revolutionary collective action and of national destiny—the Jacobin myth and its inheritance, which both de Gaulle and his left-wing opponents had fed upon.

Anderson's analysis, for all its sophistication, turns on a simple polarity between "the palace and the street"; he sees French politics as a sometimes exhilarating duel between the state and a "congenitally restless" electorate, willing to cock a snook at its leaders. "No other country in the West has seen such a level of disaffection with its political establishment" in recent decades, Anderson asserts, and while disaffection with their political establishment may have turned the French away from organized politics, they have not—as in America—withdrawn into privatized spheres. They remain ready to take to the barricades, creating a paradoxical situation where "very low indices of permanent organization coexist with exceptional propensities for spontaneous combustion."

To this provocative account, Rod Kedward's weighty *France and the French: A Modern History* offers welcome complication and also some grounds for correction. In a study that continuously chips away at the Republic's vision of itself as "one and indivisible," Kedward, like Anderson, places conflict at the heart of modern French history, particularly clashing definitions over what is properly French—over who, exactly, the "people" are. And as Kedward's nuanced account makes plain, these lines of conflict cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomy between people and state. Kedward's France is one of multiple and sometimes overlapping conflicts, between groups jostling to lay claim to Frenchness—or, as in more recent times, chafing to escape its grip.

As a historian of Vichy and the Resistance (perhaps the greatest myth of France's recent history), Kedward is sensitive to the conveniences of historical forgetfulness, to the partiality of storytelling and to how, at different points, the French political model has always worked by accommodating some and excluding others. His narrative is baggily inclusive, but it tracks more richly and consistently than previous general histories the shifting positions of women, regional identities, and colonial and immigrant groups within the Republic. Kedward's framing paradox is that while a unitary France is continually and loudly asserted—the Jacobin myth—France actually contains a plurality of histories, and it is "the resilience of a unitary state within a multiform and multilayered society that constitutes the singularity of France since 1900."

As the twentieth century began, France was an empire, in control of 10 percent of the world's surface. To its imperial possessions it offered entry into the ideal of the Republic through assimilation, although the Republic was never as unbounded as it liked to portray itself and always resistant to the claims of its North African Muslim subjects, to whom assimilation through full citizenship was denied. The Republic saw its authority as resting on more than the mere numbers of democratic acclaim. It was a moral and even an epistemic project, a vehicle of Enlightenment reason and French—that is, universal—civilization. And Africans, indeed all the world's citizens, were potential beneficiaries of France's "civilizing mission." Kedward cites Ferdinand Buisson, Sorbonne professor and advocate of the republican tradition of secular rationalism, who in 1903 was promising Tunisians, living as they were on "this African extension of the soil of France," that secularism would soon be coming to them too. But Kedward also recovers a less brittle strain of republican self-conception, represented by Socialist Jean Jaurès. Jaurès

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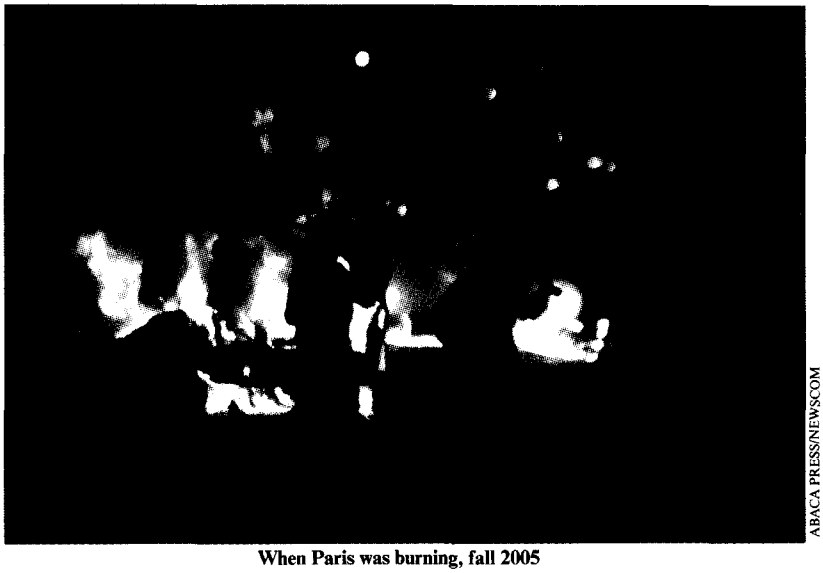
accepted the Republic as "the definitive form of French life" but urged extension of its values beyond politics to economic and social relations: "The workshop, work itself, production, property: these must be organized according to republican principles." This Jaurèsian view is a touchstone in Kedward's account, and the spirit of Jaurès—assassinated in 1914—hovers over the book.

With World War I, the Republic was both affirmed and perturbed. At the war's end, although the Republic could lay claim to the nation, that nation was itself divided. Some saw the war as a victory of republican ideals; others viewed it as pointless, a grotesque unmasking of republican and bourgeois hypocrisy. These divisions redoubled as the country's population changed. Already a destination for Italians, Belgians, Poles, Czechs and Russians, France in the postwar years experienced further waves of immigration, so that by the early 1930s "the French working class, alongside the world of the arts and the intellect, was the most cosmopolitan in Europe." But 3 million adult immigrants remained outside the pale of citizenship. With neither the vote nor security, they manned expanding factories in areas like Boulogne-Billancourt and elsewhere; they tenanted the slums of Bobigny and Saint-Denis. Yet while the Republic ruled over an increasingly diverse society, it continued to claim to speak as if for a homogeneous community and entrenched its assimilationist ideals.

Economic depression made the Republic the focus of sharpening ideological conflict between left and right during the 1930s, in ways that evoked memories of the Dreyfus Affair—a clash, precisely, over who was truly French and what kinds of loyalties this entailed, with the right wishing to exclude Jews and communists, the left wanting to expel Catholics and capitalists. The electoral victory of the Popular Front in 1936 brought the left to power, only to face a country in which half of the citizenry had a very different France in mind. But, as Kedward tries to show, the divisions and conflicts of these years in fact ultimately broadened and opened new possibilities for the French.

Whereas Stanley Hoffmann and his followers take Vichy and the Resistance as the pivot that turned the republican stalemate of prewar France into the modernizing drive of postwar France, Kedward contends that the Popular Front experience was equally determining. The Popular Front embarked on "government interventionism on a scale not seen in peacetime," and in just two years had vivid achievements to show for it. Under the owlish Léon Blum, a Jewish Socialist vilified by the anti-Semitic right and inspired by the vision of men like Jaurès, the Republic moved from a purely political definition toward "a social democracy of humanist conviction": Laws were enacted for collective bargaining, the forty-hour week and paid holidays; the school-leaving age was raised; right-wing militias were disbanded; the armaments industry was nationalized; grain prices were raised; and for the first time women were appointed as ministers.



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**When Paris was burning, fall 2005**

But within a few years the Republic, as ideological project and as territorial state, had collapsed in the debacle of 1940—the "strange defeat" inflicted by the Germans. Kedward details the range of French responses to the division of France into Occupied and Vichy sectors: While some signed on to Pétain cults, others dissented, resisted or took up arms in revolt (distinctions Kedward insists on, as a counter to the myths of resistance and collaboration that dominated postwar France). Such acts were invariably local in scale and diverse in character: There "was no photo-fit resister"—indeed, people in the Resistance "were constantly surprised to find who their contacts and co-resisters were," especially since they were often foreigners, refugees and immigrants.

Yet again, the obsession with unity meant that after the war these new identities were slighted, as older, more purely ideological definitions were asserted. Immediately after the war, a hardened Nationality Code was introduced: "Failure to assimilate" was made a reason for exclusion, while the return to Jacobin centralism squeezed out other forms of civil dissent and refused to recognize actual social differences. Reinvigorated Jacobinism also defined France's attitude to its colonies. Liberation at home in 1944 and the restoration of the Republic came with reaffirmation of empire and oppression abroad—in pointed contrast to Britain, where victory in Europe brought an acknowledgment of the imperative to withdraw from empire. After 1944 the Republic's fate was threaded to the empire in ways that unraveled both. As Kedward underlines, on the very day the war ended, May 8, 1945, the French began to crush Algerian nationalist protests in Sétif and Guelma with bloody force; tens of thousands of Algerian civilians were killed. The end of the war in Europe did not in fact mean the end of war for France—campaigns in Indochina (1946–54) and then Algeria (1954–62) followed, keeping France at war in its colonies for virtually two decades.

Only with the arrival in power in 1958 of de Gaulle, a man whose nationalist credentials could not be doubted and who was able to sidestep the prevailing ideologies, was the republican state rescued from its colonial illusions. De Gaulle took charge when the prosperity of what came to be called "les trentes glorieuses"—the three decades that transformed France's economy and society—was flowing, and in a France that had seen more than twenty governments come and go since the end of the war. He swiftly inverted the previous relationship between Republic and nation, gave primacy to the nation and made the Republic a vehicle for national grandeur. De Gaulle's skill was to plant himself above interests and ideology so as to personify principles and values, to which he lent popular prestige by recourse to referendums and plebiscites—instruments whose dangers and rewards are never entirely predictable in France.

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De Gaulle has found unlikely admirers on the left in recent years, including Perry Anderson and former Guevarist Régis Debray. It is true that de Gaulle's was a remarkable performance, not fully appreciated at the time (especially, it might be noted, by his current left-wing fans): He gave the French state a placid authoritarian stability while overseeing rapid social and cultural changes and successfully developing a *tous azimuts* international policy. But Kedward takes a more measured view of the General. De Gaulle "perpetuated the paternalism of right-wing nationalists...a state-people dualism in which the state had always to lead the people." He increased bureaucratic centralization and flouted Parliament, and even Raymond Aron criticized him for having "considerably worsened structural defects in French society." Kedward's judgment is that "de Gaulle's republic reproduced in a more extreme form the recurrent paradox of France in the twentieth century: a society which was highly differentiated and full of independent ideas and actions, yet one in which difference and self-management (*autogestion*) were suspect and denied."

That paradox exploded in the events of 1968. The ideological grip of the statist, Jacobin program of national reconstruction—embraced both by de Gaulle and by his Communist opponents—was broken, replaced by local and single-issue politics. The oil shocks of the 1970s hit particular regions (home to steel, textile and other industries) hard—and locality no longer took second place to identities shaped by class, religion, party, republicanism, education and patriotism. Similarly, anti-militarist, antinuclear and ecological movements coalesced around specific places—the army camp at Larzac, for instance, or the site for a nuclear plant at Plogoff, inaugurating a kind of radical politics of *terroir*.

Difficulties over the Republic's relation to more particular identities gathered during the 1980s as a politicized society pushed feminism, racism and gay rights onto the public screen. The debates gained a larger frame in the run-up to the bicentenary of the Revolution in 1989, which prompted declarations that French exceptionalism had run its course. As the revolutionary project collapsed across the world, intellectuals sought to revise the identity of the Republic and find new ways to register France's evident plurality. Yet in practice no coherent alternative model has emerged. The Republic, faced with what it sees as bewildering claims to particular treatment, reaffirms faith in a unitary culture—admirably consistent in its universalist logic but with increasingly confused and unhappy results in practice. France's large communities of African descent and Muslim belief, underrepresented in the arenas of republican politics and society, and largely excluded from its pockets of economic success, have exited into their own microcosms, beyond and often against republican law. Their compatriots have chosen their own ways to return the compliment: A recent study of French attitudes notes that two-thirds of the French have anti-immigrant attitudes, and one in three avows racist feelings. It is difficult to hold to the view that in France today there is one central line of division and conflict, that between "the palace and the street."

In the end, Kedward's view of recent French political culture is less bleak than Anderson's, in part because Kedward takes a less romantic view of its earlier history. While neither man has much sympathy for François Mitterrand (Kedward sees his fourteen years in office largely as a betrayal of the project outlined by Jaurès), Kedward emphasizes that Mitterrand's government enshrined in law several of the impulses of 1968: in education and women's rights, in the decentralization of the state and in environmental protection. And where Anderson sees a vacuum in the domain of civil life, Kedward notes a proliferation of social movements and agencies, some of which have challenged the authority of the state and checked its powers. He also reminds us that the Plural Left government of Lionel Jospin had real achievements, obscured though they were by the circumstances of Jospin's defeat in the 2002 presidential elections, when he was pushed into third place by Jean-Marie Le Pen. Jospin's government tried to regulate capitalist enterprise, based on a new relation between state and market. The minimum wage and income were increased as a thirty-five-hour workweek became law, tax policy became more progressive, free healthcare was provided to the very poor, civil alliances were introduced for same-sex couples, the claims of regions like Corsica were given greater attention and the Constitution was altered to give men and women equal access to elected office.

Such values and choices do not add up to anything like a coherent view of France's role in the world today—something that both increasingly frustrates France's allies and belies the French republican sense of universal mission. And, needless to say, they are increasingly at odds with the Anglo-Saxon model. They are also considerably less ambitious than the fertile, wilder ideas of 1968. Kedward sees such differences neither as economic self-sabotage nor as imaginative sellout but as part of France's distinctive and continuing project of humane modernization. It is this humanist vision contained within the republican model—often overshadowed by its rationalist or revolutionary flamboyance—that is the unifying focus of Kedward's book, and what he sees as one of France's most distinctive contributions to the history of the past century. One would like to share Kedward's optimism about France's continuing ability in this respect—not least because his own judgments have an attractive sobriety and modesty to them. But the republican model will need more imagination, flexibility and a willingness to learn how to compromise—a more pragmatic humanism—if it is to weather and absorb the vexed conflicts it faces today. ■

## Hong Kong Harbor 1984

On this side of the window
A shower of chrysanthemum.
Outside, torrential rain.

From this distance the world appears mute.
But if somewhere someone is singing
It's because someone somewhere is listening.

If this were the last day of my life, would I know it?
And if I did
Would I pretend otherwise?

*Robert Sawyer*

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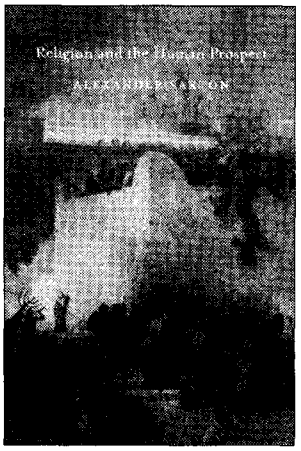

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# The New World Order

ROBIN BLACKBURN

**INHUMAN BONDAGE: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World.**
By David Brion Davis. Oxford. 440 pp. $30.

**ROUGH CROSSINGS: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution.**
By Simon Schama. HarperCollins. 478 pp. $29.95.

Beginning in the 1440s and for more than four centuries slavery and the slave trade underpinned a prodigious expansion of the Atlantic economy that transformed every land lapped by that ocean. Before the 1820s the number of captive Africans who arrived in the New World greatly surpassed the number of free European migrants. The value of the Atlantic trade swiftly overtook that of the Mediterranean. Economic historians now believe the rise of plantation colonies added millions of acres of cultivated land to the European economies, diversified output, stimulated a new type of consumption and enabled these societies, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, to pull ahead of South and East Asia, which had been the world's most prosperous and civilized regions. The advent of steamboats, railways and steam-driven engines greatly extended the land area involved, but the harsh toil of cultivating and processing raw cotton, sugar cane and coffee beans was performed by a slave population that rose from 3 million to 6 million between 1800 and 1860. Just at the moment when Europeans and their white American cousins began to exult in their global good fortune, however, a succession of slave revolts and protest campaigns forced them to confront the fact that the entire dazzling edifice was built on horrendous and criminal foundations. Beginning in the 1760s, but with gathering force over succeeding decades, rebels, revolutionaries and abolitionists, both black and white, challenged slavery and the slave trade, as well as other institutions upon which the Atlantic boom had been based—colonialism, monarchy, war and an untrammeled "commercial society."

In *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*, first published in 1966, David Brion Davis drew attention to the remarkable fact that prior to the mid-eighteenth century slavery had been a widely accepted and entirely respectable institution, yet by the 1780s it had become the target of widespread critique and revulsion. While it is not difficult to see why slaves struggled for freedom during the crisis of empire and monarchy, it is more of a challenge to explain how black rebels and revolutionaries could find allies in societies that were becoming ever more dependent on—and richer from—exchanges with the plantation zone. In his new book, *Inhuman Bondage*, Davis looks at the entire span of New World slavery, with special emphasis on what was to become the largest slave system: that of the United States. He asks why European settlers resorted in the first place to an institution that was marginal and declining in Europe. And he explores how historians have tried to explain the rise of abolitionism and the eventual success of the century-long campaign to suppress slavery.

Although he has written a series of indispensable studies of how the leading Atlantic societies addressed "the problem of slavery," Davis has never before sought to bring the institution's rise and fall within the scope of a single argument. The result is an absorbing book that obliges us to confront the complex legacy of slavery and emancipation in our own time. The mighty mobilizations that led to the suppression of slavery in the New World from Vermont in 1777 to Brazil in 1888 certainly hold out grounds for hope. They show that societies can change for the better in fundamental ways. But they also show that the victories were sometimes deeply compromised. The acceptance of New World slavery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected entrenched legal, religious and philosophical traditions. But it also coincided with a withering away of slavery in many parts of Europe. Jean Bodin, the only philosopher to call slavery into question prior to Montesquieu, did so on the grounds that

*Robin Blackburn, distinguished professor in the Committee on Historical Studies at the New School for Social Research and former editor of* New Left Review, *is the author of* The Making of New World Slavery, The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery *and, most recently,* Age Shock and Pension Power: How Finance Is Failing Us *(all by Verso).*

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ordinary people had a powerful prejudice against it.

Somehow what was unacceptable in Europe became necessary in the New World. The racialization of slavery partly accounts for this apparent paradox. In most societies slavery had been reserved for outsiders, and this status could easily be specified in ethnic or religious terms. Although few of the slaves in ancient Rome were black Africans, the European legacy of Roman law supplied an authoritative codification that allowed captive outsiders to be transformed into economic property, or chattel. The New Testament seemed to endorse slaveholding, while passages in Genesis and Leviticus were held by many early modern Europeans to justify the imposition of permanent bondage on descent groups.

The story of slavery and emancipation in the New World has lent itself to several kinds of falsely redemptive interpretation, most of which rely on what one might call the argument from latent virtue. Such accounts ruefully admit enslavement was largely condoned, rather than challenged, by Christianity, capitalism, "English liberties" and American patriotism, with the escape clause that each of the above contained a latent antislavery meaning that in a few decades—or was that centuries?—would emerge into the light of day. The message was that, properly understood, Christianity, capitalism and patriotism were in essence abolitionist. Once the initial paradox, irony and contradiction had been resolved, the comforting truth would be clear. Eric Williams—the Trinidadian leader and author of the classic *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944)—referred to a variant of this consoling view when he noted in 1964 that "British historians wrote almost as if Britain had introduced Negro slavery for the sole satisfaction of abolishing it."

The latent virtue argument is not merely complacent; it fails to identify what led some Christians, capitalists and patriots—not the majority, but a brave few—to think and behave differently. It also fails to identify what it was in the original Christianity, capitalism or patriotism that fitted fairly snugly with racial slavery. A surprising number of early slave traders and planters were pious and even learned men. Davis rightly argues that perceptions and norms that expressed a religious worldview were just as important as economic factors in the shaping of the New World regimes. He dwells on changing interpretations of the biblical story of Noah cursing Ham by condemning Ham's son Canaan, and his offspring, to perpetual slavery. (Ham had exposed the nakedness of his drunken father, but the


## The End of Corruption

More and more, the nations are beginning to recognize, to take seriously and to deal with, an age-old problem, namely corruption. In some parts of the world corruption has been a way of life for centuries. This has benefited the few, of course, at the expense of the many. For untold ages, corrupt leaders and powerful politicians have waxed rich on the taxes imposed on their subjects and citizens. In modern times, the large corporations of the West have been found guilty of 'cooking the books' on a massive scale, while in the East it is taken for granted that every transaction needs the 'greasing' of someone's palm.

"Without trust, a fairer sharing of resources would be a forlorn hope."

Corruption is endemic, and runs through some societies from the president or prime minister to the police and sport. Electoral corruption is rampant, as recent elections have demonstrated, even in countries supposedly dedicated to freedom and democracy. Such corrupt governments fail and betray their peoples and so surrender their right to govern.

### Trust

In the midst of such corruption is it possible to engender trust without which the future for men* would be bleak indeed? Without trust, a fairer sharing of resources would be a forlorn hope. Without trust, the global decisions required to sustain our planetary home would never be taken. Without blessed and beneficent trust, men would forfeit their right of Stewardship of Planet Earth, and would seal themselves off for aeons from further evolution.

Thus would it be, and thus should men tackle seriously, and without delay, the corrosive impact of corruption on every strata of society, and every nook and cranny of our planetary life.

### Eroding

To help men to do this, you may be sure that Maitreya will be at pains to demonstrate to men the eroding effect of corruption in all its many manifestations. He will show that if men would become the Gods they essentially are, they must abandon the old ways of deceit and subterfuge. To tackle the serious environmental problems, He will explain, men must work together, in trust. Without trust, Maitreya will emphasize, little can be done. So steeped in corruption themselves are the leaders of the nations, that they trust no one.

Maitreya will show that men have but one choice to create the necessary trust: to share the produce of this bounteous Earth more evenly across the world, and so end for ever the starvation and poverty of millions, dying in the midst of plenty.

Will the leaders listen to the words of Maitreya? For the most part, possibly, no, not at first. But soon the people everywhere will hear, and see the wisdom of Maitreya's advice. They will say amen to His wise words and support His Cause. World public opinion will find its voice and its Mentor, and against its power the obstructive voices of the greedy dictators and corrupt politicians will fade. So will it be, and so will begin the cleansing and transformation of this world.

This article, published in *Share International* magazine, was written by a Master of Wisdom. The Masters, headed by Maitreya, the World Teacher, are highly advanced teachers and advisors of humanity who are planning to work openly in the world very soon.

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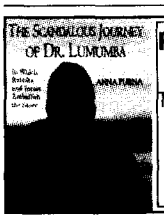


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precise offense was unmentionable.) At its most elementary, the "just so" story legitimized the enslavement of a descent group, an impression that was reinforced by passages in Leviticus and Deuteronomy sanctioning the permanent enslavement of strangers. Of course the Golden Rule might have excluded outright enslavement or slavery, as it did for many later abolitionists. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Christians, Jews and Muslims frequently referred to Noah's curse as justification for hereditary enslavement.

Davis contrasts his own approach with those of many past historians, including Marxists who, he insists, offered a reductively economic explanation of New World slavery, at the expense of "cultural and ideological factors, especially religion." In fact, some Marxist historians of slavery, such as (the younger) Eugene Genovese, have placed considerable emphasis on culture, religion and racial ideology—at times more than Davis himself. Davis writes: "Having clarified early Jewish views on black Africans and slavery, it is crucially important not to project blame onto Islamic writers, who from the seventh century onward did establish strong precedents for linking blackness with slavery, often reinforced by references to Noah.... If Jews or Christians had been in the Arab's place, actively enslaving, purchasing and transporting sub-Saharan Africans, they would surely have generated their own justifying ideology." A good point, but, if true, where does it leave Davis's earlier rejection of "economic determinism"?

Members of all three religions of the Book made their peace with slavery when it became important to the communities in which they lived. Davis's concern not to be too hard on religious authorities, especially on any single religion, is understandable since most were at least trying to elevate standards of behavior and an honorable minority expressed concerns about slavery and the exclusion of nonbelievers or strangers from communal protection. But the awkward fact is that the great religions, while sometimes advancing humane values, allowed dangerous loopholes or regarded religious deviance as much worse than cruelty. Christians did not even rate cruelty as a deadly sin, in contrast to sloth and lechery. And each religion had its own strengths and weaknesses. Jews and Muslims, for example, tried to ban or limit the enslavement of fellow believers, something the early Christian churches usually tolerated.

Davis does not much distinguish between Protestantism and Catholicism, perhaps because both came to endorse racial slavery. However, Protestants had much greater latitude to devise their own interpretations because they believed themselves to have a personal relationship to God and Scripture. Even when the Catholic Church endorsed racial definitions, it did not authorize believers to determine who was to be the target of enslavement. The famous Papal Bulls permitting Portuguese slave trading were highly specific and conditional, applying only to certain agents of the Portuguese king and so long as the heathens or Canaanites were baptized. Small Protestant communities were more "democratic" and readier to allow each believer to decide for himself who was a "son of Ham" and what this might mean. Catholic slavery was no less destructive or cruel than Protestant slavery. But it preferred the religiously defined scope of enslavement to be established by clerical authorities and not to be twinned with an obvious physical sign, like skin color, that could be assigned without their help. Spanish Catholicism did validate the racially loaded term "limpieza de sangre" (purity of blood), but the hierarchy was uneasy about it and insisted that the Holy Office retain control over its application.

The Catholic practice of racial slavery allowed for greater flexibility and development than was to become typical of Protestant slaveholders. Manumission and the condition of the free person of color probably were a bit easier in the Spanish or Portuguese colonies. On the other hand, the more temperate climate of the North American colonies made for better physical living conditions for the mass of the enslaved. Assessing the precise mix of cultural and economic factors in the formation of New World slavery is not easy, and if Davis occasionally has difficulty here he is hardly alone. It is, perhaps, important to register that while racial feeling certainly preceded the rise of the slave systems and led to their racial character, the "proto-racism" of the sixteenth century was quite different from the full-fledged racism that began to emerge in the eighteenth century.

Lars von Trier's recent film *Dogville* offers a helpful parable here, showing how fatally easy and convenient it is for a community to allow a stranger to perform the most disagreeable tasks and only later discover they are keeping a slave. Racial ideologies allotted very harsh jobs to those regarded as aliens or a race apart. Davis rightly insists that the racial stereotypes generated by slavery often equated the slave with a beast of burden or domesticated animal. At the same time, phobic forms of racism did not always fit very well with being a slaveholder, since the master's dependence on the slave could be quite intimate.

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Slavery was always oppressive, but up close, even the enslaved could gradually establish limits within that oppression. In an aside Davis gives us a fascinating glimpse of an episode in which he learned about this: "When in 1945, I was an eighteen year old soldier on a troopship, I was given a billy club and ordered to descend into the lower depths of the ship, where for four hours I was to keep the 'Negroes' (a worse word was probably used) from gambling. Until then I had not even known there were any black troops aboard (the army was, of course, 'segregated'). When I at last arrived in what seemed like the lowest hold of a slave ship, one of the many crap-shooters asked: 'What you doin' down here, white boy?' I finally found a shadow in which to hide."

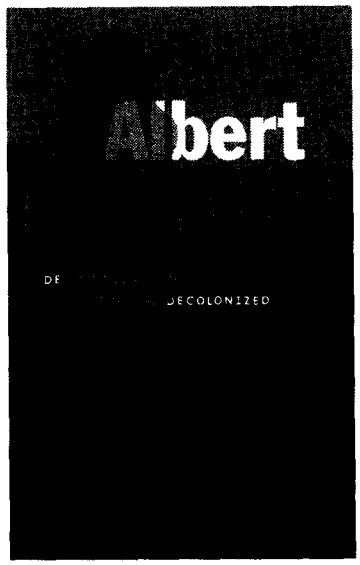
*Inhuman Bondage* contains passages of great wisdom and leads to some rather unsettling conclusions. But sometimes Davis's insistence on complexity and his generosity to critics lead him to embrace arguments that do not cohere. He writes: "The expansion of the slave plantation system...contributed significantly to Europe's, and also America's, economic growth. But economic historians have wholly disproved the narrower proposition that the slave trade or even the plantation system as a whole created a major share of the capital that financed the Industrial Revolution." The first sentence did not need the half-retraction of the second. In Britain at least (and probably New England and France too) early manufacturers did depend to a "major" extent on credit extended by merchants and bankers whose fortunes derived from plantations and the plantation trades. Of course, capitalism preceded and greatly stimulated the growth of the plantations. But recently economic historians have become much more willing to identify a major foreign trade component in capital accumulation during the Industrial Revolution. Davis sometimes writes as if sugar, tobacco and cotton themselves created the new consumerism. To some extent they did, but mass consumption really took off only in areas where people had money in their pockets or purses: These were the areas where capitalism had developed. Capitalist social relationships were defined and lubricated by cash, whether wages, salaries, fees, rents or profits. Without this intense boost to demand, the slave plantations would have remained modest and marginal.

Elsewhere Davis writes of the "purely capitalistic" British sugar plantations: "The business mentality eventually worked to the slaves' benefit in the late 1700s and early 1800s. British planters and their agents discovered that slave productivity could be greatly increased by eliminating the most cruel and grisly punishments.... There is a danger, however, in exaggerating the humanitarian effects of the so-called amelioration policy...." The increased output was also a result of working the slave gangs harder and eventually helped to provoke large-scale slave uprisings, which advanced the cause of emancipation.

In the 1980s the *American Historical Review* featured an extensive debate between Davis and Thomas Haskell, who had written an extensive critique of Davis's brilliant study *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution*. Among many other arguments in that rich and subtle book, Davis maintained that British abolitionism, with its early emphasis on "free labor," helped to express a new type of capitalist hegemony (a concept borrowed from Antonio Gramsci). Haskell, by contrast, viewed abolitionism as a direct and pristine product of the new cognitive space permitted by market relations, prior to and apart from class struggle. The question for Haskell (who failed to accord any significance to black rebellions in the plantation zone) was why it took so long for market relations to perform their alchemy and generate the abolitionist movement. In *Inhuman Bondage* Davis restates something like his former conclusions, albeit in what is offered as a reformulation of Eric Williams's argument that abolitionism emerged as a result of imperial crisis: "I doubt that Williams' orthodox leftist followers would be satisfied by even a well-developed theory relating British anti-slavery to free-labor ideology.... Yet such a theory, based on more empirical evidence, would confirm much of Williams' most important insights." Williams had an overly economic account of the imperial crisis, but he was right to see official abolitionism as contributing to imperial reform and reorientation. Davis's argument that British abolitionism also drew on "free labor" ideology is well taken and not one that radical historians will dispute. It offered terrain upon which both hardheaded bourgeois and newly conscious workers could stand. (Eric Foner made a similar argument for the American context in his memorable 1970 study *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*.)

Where does the American Revolution belong in this narrative? The result of American independence was to establish a state for slaveholders, while the pattern of Atlantic trade stemming from the Revolution helped foster an enormous slave-based boom. Davis recognizes this, yet he concludes that "most important in the long run, was the Revolution's legacy


GlobalViews

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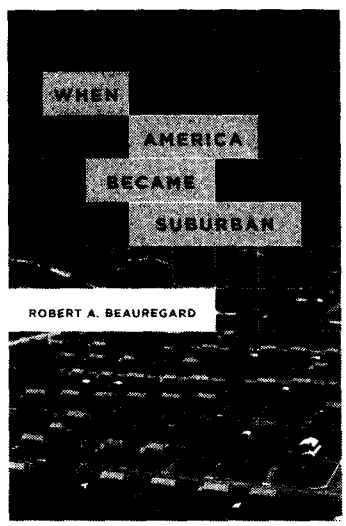


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of ideology—the popularization amongst blacks as well as whites of a belief in individual freedom and inalienable natural rights." In his engaging new book, *Rough Crossings*, Simon Schama delves into the archives and comes up with a rather different account. For Schama the antislavery idea was already a strand of "English liberties" or "British freedom"; Lord Mansfield's famous judgment in the Somerset case was believed by many to have confirmed the claim that England's free air was incompatible with slavery. While the American rebels suspended the slave trade, several British commanders went further than this and offered freedom to all slaves of rebel masters who would join the loyalist side. In the end about 20,000 did, and their British commanders repaid them for their service when the war ended. The peace treaty required the return of all stolen property, but to the fury of the American side, the British military evacuated about 15,000 former slaves from New York and Charleston.

Schama is well aware that British military emancipationism was opportunistic and selective, reserved only for slaves owned by rebels. Somewhat like Davis, he argues not that the British government was genuinely antislavery at this point but rather that its strategic offer of emancipation chimed in with the rhetoric of "British freedom" and allowed many thousands of African-Americans to escape slavery and eventually to reach for, and briefly enjoy, a measure of black self-government. Schama has a little-known story to tell. He follows the former slaves from New York to Nova Scotia, Canada, and then to Sierra Leone, on the West African coast. John Clarkson, brother of Thomas Clarkson, the British abolitionist organizer, went to Nova Scotia at the behest of a group of philanthropists who had raised the enormous sum of £4 million—equivalent to about $600 million in today's money—to help to resettle Canada's loyalist black refugees in Africa. Clarkson found well over 1,000 willing to sail, many more than had been anticipated, with Canada's climate and the hostility of some whites, as well as a longing to return, being part of the explanation.

Schama stresses the emergence of capable leaders among the African-Americans and the eventual establishment of a colony marked by lively self-government. This picture is confirmed by Cassandra Pybus, who, in her well-researched *Epic Journeys of Freedom*, supplies a vivid portrait of several of the African-Americans who sought freedom with the British, notably Henry Washington, one of the leaders of the Sierra Leone group. (Henry Washington was well placed to learn from at least one of the Founders, having been the property of George Washington himself.) The plans for Sierra Leone had initially been drawn up by pioneering English abolitionist Granville Sharp, who championed a type of grassroots democracy called frankpledge, supposedly based on Anglo-Saxon traditions. At all events the members of the young settlement were invited to form themselves into "tithings" and "hundreds" and then, women as well as men, to elect their own leaders who would be responsible for local administration while leaving overall responsibility to the colonial company and its officers. John Clarkson, the first governor of Freetown, managed to make this work effectively and even grew to like the African drumming that had at first alarmed him. But the proprietors declined to reappoint him because they believed that he and his brother had become infected with the Jacobin contagion (both Thomas and John visited France in the early days of the Revolution and looked with favor on its eventual antislavery moves).

The system of black self-government was sustained even under the governorship of Zachary Macaulay but was eventually largely suppressed after a black revolt. Schama sees black resistance and revolt in


# EVENTS

**ILLINOIS**

## John Nichols

■ League of Women Voters of Chicago presents John Nichols, co-author of *Tragedy and Farce* and correspondent for *The Nation* and the *Capital Times*. November 18, 2–4 PM. Columbia College, 1014 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL. For additional information call (312) 939-5935 ext. 27 or visit our website: www.LWVChicago.org. Tickets: $35 adults, $20 students with ID.

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■ Minneapolis artist Kim Matthews embraces the life force and earth spirits in her sculptures. Her skillful use of handmade paper and earthen dross may be viewed at www.kimmatthewsart.com. *Opening reception:* Friday, November 3, 5:30–7:30 PM. Exhibit: November 3–December 17. Signs of Life, Augsburg College Art Gallery, 2211 Riverside Ave., Minneapolis, MN 55454. (612) 330-1524. www.augsburg.edu/galleries/exhibition/index.html.

**NEW YORK**

## Tribes Gallery

■ Chris Twomey, "Madonna Series," a multimedia installation including DVD, mixed-media paintings and prints opens at Tribes Gallery, November 2, 6–9 PM, and runs through November 30. Twomey resamples a classical theme to mine history, religious tenets and genetic self-identity. Tribes Gallery, 285 E. 3rd St., 2nd floor, NYC 10009. Hours: Tuesday–Sunday, 12–6 PM. More info: (212) 674-8262 or www.tribes.org. *A Gathering of the Tribes* issue No. 11 in bookstores now. This issue features poetry by Sapphire, Hal Sirowitz, Fay Chang, Julie Ezelle Patton, Lois Ellaine Griffith and Gavin Moses; photography by Lloyd McNeill and Gerard H. Gaskin; art by Faith Ringgold and Chitra Ganesh; and interviews with violinist Regina Carter, choreographer Bill T. Jones and avant-garde composer Elliot Sharp.

## Barbara Ehrenreich

■ Dos Pueblos New York–Tipitapa Sister City Project. Celebrating nineteen years of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua. Featuring journalist and author Barbara Ehrenreich and music presented by John Fisher with Jenny Murphy, Jim Rogers and Steve Siegelbaum. Sunday, November 5, 5–7 PM at the home of Helen Rosenthal and Carmen Marino. 225 W. 83rd St., New York, NY. Information: (646) 610-2215. RSVP: nov5event@tipitapa.org or Dos Pueblos 2576 Broadway, #305, New York, NY 10025.

## Opposition Politics

■ Lewis Lapham and Gary Younge on Creating a Real Opposition Force in American Politics. Friday, November 10, 6:30 PM. The New School, Tishman Auditorium, 66 W. 12th St. Admission: $8. Tickets: (212) 229-5488 or boxoffice@newschool.edu. Now that the midterm elections have passed, what will really change? While electing Democrats is the establishment's only prescription to counteract six disastrous years of Republican control in Washington, few people have any illusions that the Democratic Party represents a true opposition force in American politics. From their slavish devotion to corporate dominion to their hawkish support for Bush's endless global war, chances are that the Democratic Party's fate in the midterm elections will have little impact on the biggest issues of the day. Join two of the country's favorite columnists, Gary Younge, the *Guardian* newspaper's US correspondent and author of *Stranger in a Strange Land: Encounters in the Disunited States*, and Lewis Lapham, longtime editor and now editor emeritus of *Harper's* magazine (winner of the National Magazine Award for his column's "exhilarating point of view in an age of conformity") and author of *Pretensions to Empire: Notes on the Criminal Folly of the Bush Administration*, for a discussion about what it will take to create a real opposition movement in America. Co-sponsored by The New School and The New Press.

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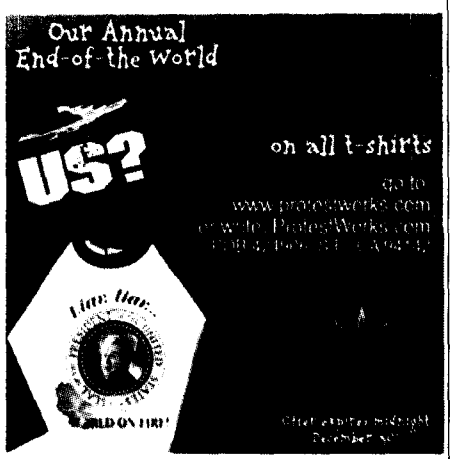

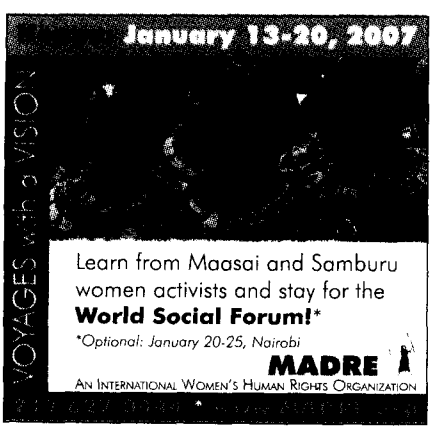
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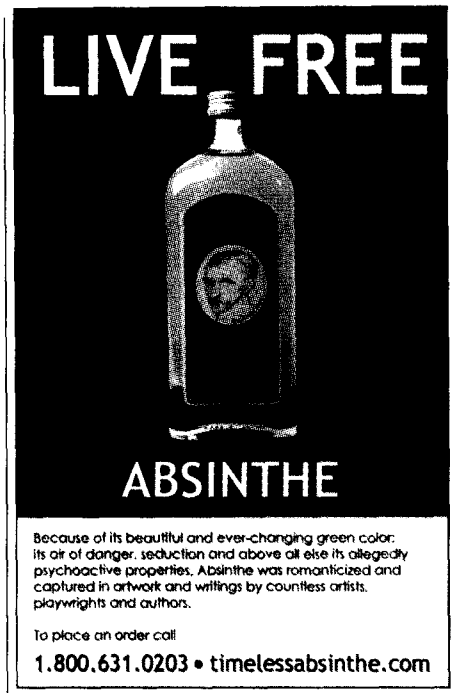
Sierra Leone in the 1790s and afterward as a tribute to the potential of "British freedom," even when this had been negated or adulterated by the official proprietors of the colony. Davis sees the very same events and assertions as an echo of the legacy of the American Revolution, evident even among those who had escaped from it. No doubt African-Americans appropriated ideas from these and other sources—including evangelical abolitionists, unpatriotic, free-thinking radicals and, last but not least, West African traditions of village and tribal governance. But the eventual mixture was their own.

Davis has a chapter on the revolution in Haiti, formerly Saint-Domingue, which he rightly sees as a crucial turning point, establishing the first sovereign state in the world to abolish slavery. While the universalism of revolutionary republican ideology had its effect on the leaders of the Haitian revolution, the British, French and Spanish were defeated only as a result of the tenacity of tens of thousands of colored revolutionaries, many African-born, who fought on even when the famous leaders had yielded. This spirit of the revolution, like the spirit of the Sierra Leone colonists, must in the end be seen as a new strand of black and colored emancipationism that was to fuel many future antislavery struggles. When it came to slavery, Haiti reached conclusions that were to require another generation or two in Britain and the United States.

Davis's book has a brief epilogue, but its last substantial chapter concerns the Civil War and emancipation in the United States. In many ways this is the most intriguing part of the book. At some points Davis seems to imply that emancipation should be seen as a vindication of an antislavery promise held out by the Founders. The problem with this is not only that the Founders formally supported or compromised with slavery but also that many of those antebellum Americans who most consistently opposed slavery, such as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, were distinctly unpatriotic, indeed sworn enemies of the Constitution. Without the radical abolitionists, many of whom were black, the Southern states might never have seceded. Those who refused burgeoning American nationalism made a critical contribution to antislavery, as Garry Wills has argued in his recent study of Jefferson, *"Negro President."* Davis avoids a triumphalist account of the Civil War. He sees that war through the prism of its great brutality and dehumanization and the ensuing emancipation of the slaves as heavily compromised by the defeat of Reconstruction.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He implies that while in the past he regarded the Civil War as a "good war," he no longer does, and he seems to question the ease with which Garrison gave up his pacifism. But if the war between the states was not a "good war," was it at least a necessary war to end slavery?

Davis briefly observes that slavery was overcome in a different and better way in Brazil, but he does not indicate whether this route could have been pursued in North America. However, he writes: "No doubt we will always have a small number of psychopathic torturers and serial killers. The worst evils arise when *institutions* encourage large numbers of 'ordinary' people to adopt similar behaviour and win approval and even admiration from, let us say, fellow guards at a Nazi death camp, or even at an American-run Iraqi prison. We are seldom willing to recognize the truth that every war converts normal and ordinary citizen-soldiers into serial killers, often of so-called innocent civilians, as in the massive bombings of World War II. I say this having been rigorously trained to kill Japanese in the planned invasion in the autumn of 1945."

Davis ends this searching and important book on a more positive note, signaling that the ultimate suppression of slavery in the New World could not have been accomplished without both "slave resistance" and the wider "abolitionist movements." This historic and "willed" achievement, he suggests, raises reasonable hopes for assembling the ambitious alliances needed to redress wrongs in today's world, including both legacies of slavery and the "still devastated continent of Africa."

The left has not always found it easy to identify its own debt to antislavery, no doubt because much official abolitionism was intensely bourgeois and evangelical. But the leaders of radical abolitionism, from Sharp and Clarkson to Garrison and Phillips, were genuine progressives. Once emancipation became official policy, its radicalism was much diminished and sometimes entirely perverted. It is sobering to reflect that Africa was carved up by the colonial powers in the name of suppressing the slave trade. While the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 was a cynical travesty of antislavery, some genuinely abolitionist impulses did lend support to colonialism. Although in many respects extraordinarily pioneering and progressive, abolitionism was (particularly in its official version) remote from the antislavery of the slaves and thus unable, once slavery ended, to identify new forms of racial domination, whether in the New World plantation zone or in the lands colonized by Europeans. William Lloyd Garrison's decision to close *The Liberator* in 1865 testified to such a blind spot. Yet the movement had a more radical legacy that deserves to be paid tribute. Wendell Phillips and other abolitionists disagreed with Garrison, realizing how much still remained to be done to insure that the former slaves achieved a freedom worthy of the name. Partly for this reason Phillips welcomed the founding of *The Nation* in the same year that *The Liberator* closed. ■

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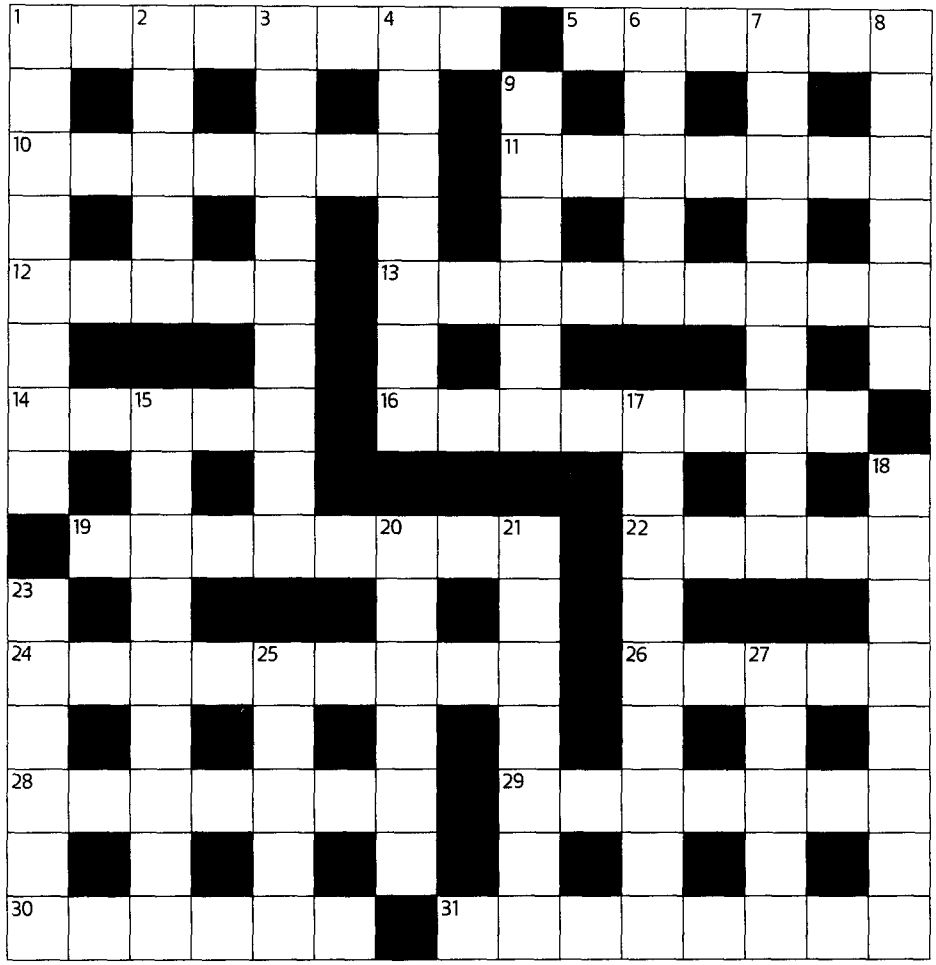
# PUZZLE NO. 3056

FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

**1** He is in the process of getting a leg rub—which is enough for a painter! (8)

**5** and **22** Practical judgment, which unfortunately isn't as usual as the name implies. (6,5)

**10** What cats do at the milk dish, and canine types too—usually little ones. (3-4)

**11** Pretty slow—put something in the pot, too! (7)

**12** and **14** The Freshman category? Excellent! (5,5)

**13** It's the brine mixture I swallowed! You have to get the equivalent of drunk, if you want to put something here. (9)

**14** See 12

**16** Hurry things up! And make a deep exit! (8)

**19** A bit expensive to the French—proving high points for many people. (8)

**22** See 5

**24** What the freeway driver finally did, being no longer interested in anything. (6,3)

**28** and **26** Worshiped in the early afternoon? (7,5)

**29** Rides in awkward fashion, despite being one in the know. (7)

**30** Resist the sort that is relative. (6)

**31** Melted down when beginning right to the finish, with a major point to color. (8)

## DOWN

**1** The type that puts on a dauntless appearance. (4-4)

**2** Describing the elite 14, or high birth by the sound of it. (5)

**3** What the connoisseur is supposed to have, or chocolate pudding. (4,5)

**4** Either of two Johns (Scottish or American) who were writers, with a mother's kin exposed there. (7)

**6** What we all get each day. (5)

**7** A guy with a bowler (sort of brown) getting a drink in the city. (9)

**8** Born dead, without a badly wanted description. (6)

**9** Either way, it may be what the gal has to do after a smooch—or a tiff. (4-2)

**15** Arthur loses a turn, perhaps, when it is finished—but this gives him a real pain! (9)

**17** Rather put out, little Sidney comes up getting forlornly wanted. (9)

**18** Misshapen cones, with a color applied—in other words, red-penciled. (8)

**20** Appeared all right when the dole unfortunately was around. (6)

**21** This—i.e., cuffs—should prove to be enough. (7)

**23** Puts one foot down because of the postage required. (6)

**25** One of a comic pair—a little bird, that is. (5)

**27** What the Speaker may ask for could be ham and eggs. (5)

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3055

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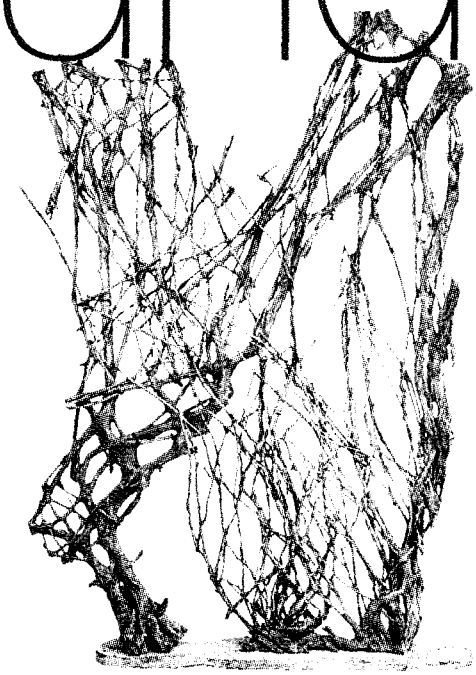

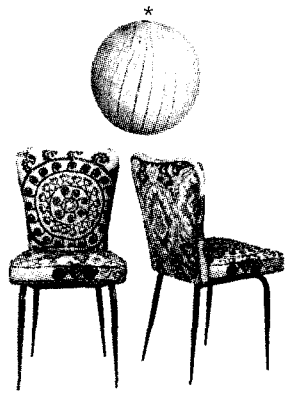

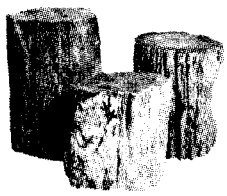

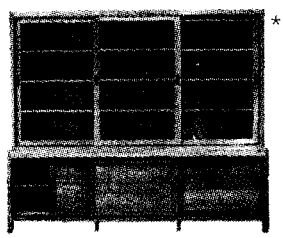

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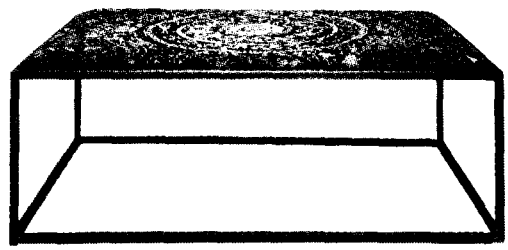

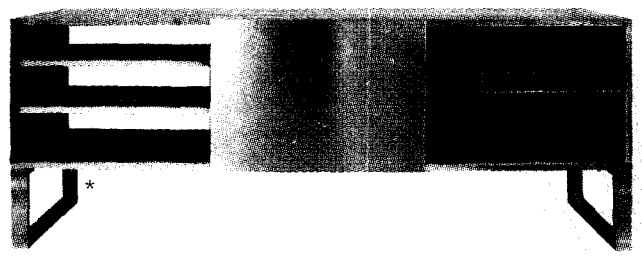

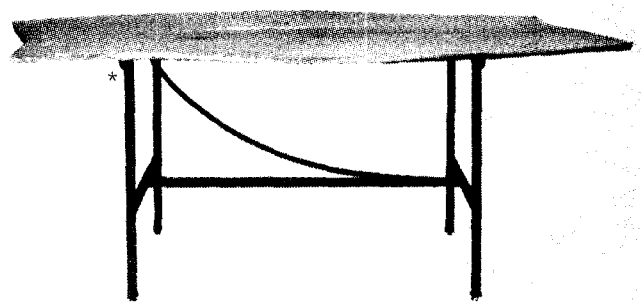

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